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GIOVANNINO BATTISTA: A STUDY IN RENAISSANCE RELIGIOUS SYMBOLISM*

MARILYN ARONBERG LAVIN

THE figure of the Infant St. John became such a commonplace in fifteenth century art that it has rarely been thought to question whether or not there are specific sources for its appearance. Yet the problem acquires particular interest and importance when it is realized that the saint was almost never shown in this form before the Italian Renaissance. At that time the aged hermit of tradition was transformed into a child as young even as the Infant Christ with whom he was so frequently portrayed. Generally it has been believed that the numerous domestic scenes bearing such titles as *Madonna and Child with the Infant St. John*, or *Holy Family with the Infant St. John*, were simply manifestations of Renaissance naturalism, and that the reduction in John's age was merely a result of Florentine interest in the graces of childhood.¹ However, art historical experience amply demonstrates that Renaissance artists were not in the habit of introducing new representational forms casually and without basis in tradition. Consequently, the hypothesis of naturalism, adequate or not as a definition of the phenomenon's cause, is certainly unsatisfactory as a description of its source. Since this perhaps more than any other single religious subject typifies the period, our ignorance of its real meaning and origin constitutes a major gap in our knowledge of Renaissance iconography.

The main tradition for representations of the Infant St. John seems to begin in Italy in the thirteenth century.² On the *St. John Altar Frontal* (ca. 1260-1270) in the Pinacoteca of Siena,³ one of the panels on the left wing shows the Infant St. John with Elizabeth greeting the enthroned Madonna and Child (Fig. 3). Mary is seated to the left holding Christ. Elizabeth kneels at the right and holds John before her, while he extends his hand in response to Jesus' blessing. Curiously enough, no such scene is recorded by the Evangelists,⁴ nor indeed does the New Testament make any mention of John's childhood. On the other hand, if we turn to apocryphal literature we find that Eastern tradition preserved several versions of the story of John's youth.⁵ Among these

* This topic was first defined by Dr. Erwin Panofsky, for whose extraordinary generosity and patience I am deeply grateful. I also wish to thank Dr. H. W. Janson for his kind help and encouraging guidance.

1. Girmouard de Saint-Laurent, "De l'Iconographie de St. Jean-Baptiste," *Revue de l'art chrétien*, II, 1867, pp. 23-30; Bernard Berenson, *Three Essays in Method*, Oxford, 1927, pp. 101-113; Rosaline Schaff, "The Iconography of the Nativity in Florentine Painting of the Third Quarter of the Quattrocento with Particular Reference to the Madonna and Child," unpublished Master of Arts thesis, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, May, 1942, pp. 30-90. For other interpretations, see also Emil Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XIII^e siècle en France*, Paris, 1932, p. 248; Ulrich Middeldorf, "A Note on Two Pictures by Tintoretto," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XXVI, 1944, p. 250 n. 10.

2. To my knowledge there is only one representation of the Infant St. John in Italy before the thirteenth century, i.e., the niche of the Three Holy Mothers in the right aisle of Santa Maria Antiqua, Rome (Myrtilla Avery, "The Alexandrian Style at Santa Maria Antiqua, Rome," *ART BULLETIN*, VII, 1924-25, pp. 132ff., esp. p. 143 and n. 62, fig. 37).

3. Cesare Brandi, *La Regia Pinacoteca di Siena*, Rome, 1933, pp. 281-282, no. 14.

4. The only Biblical reference to John before the time of the Baptism is the account of his birth in Luke 1:1-80.

5. The earliest extant apocryphal description of John's infancy is in the second century "Book of James," the so-called *Protoevangelium* (*Apocryphal Gospels, Acts and Revelations*, Ante-Nicene Christian Library, ed., A. Roberts and J. Donaldson, Edinburgh, 1873, XVI, p. 13). There it is related that to escape the soldiers of Herod (cf. note 67), Elizabeth and her child John fled into the "hill country," where under the protection of "an Angel of the Lord" they hid in a mountain which miraculously opened to receive them. The story of the *Protoevangelium* was greatly expanded in the "Life of John the Baptist" written by the Egyptian Bishop Serapion between 385 and 395 (ed. and trans., A. Mingana, *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, Manchester, XI, 1927, pp. 438ff., reprinted in *Woodbrooke Studies*, Cambridge, I, 1927, pp. 234-287; cited by Hugh J. Schonfield, *The Lost "Book of the Nativity of John"*, Edinburgh, 1929, p. 21, and app., pp. 69ff.). This version of the legend tells that after leaving the mountain, Elizabeth and John wandered in the desert for five years until

ancient legends a visit of Elizabeth and John to Mary and Christ is first described in the fourth century,⁶ and later in a Slavonic text entitled "The Story of the Birth of John the Precursor and of the Killing of his Father Zachariah";⁷ here it appears in precisely the form which is represented on the frontal: "[Joseph and his family] fled to Galilee in the city of Nazareth. And it happened that Elizabeth was also there; and Mary and Elizabeth, Jesus and John greeted each other."⁸ (Chap. viii, vv. 2-3)

A second panel of this frontal shows the Infant St. John being carried through the desert on the shoulders of an Angel (Fig. 4). Again the Slavonic text provides a literary explanation of the scene. It relates that an angel was sent by God to protect Elizabeth and John in the mountain, where they had fled from the soldiers of Herod;⁹ the angel is identified as the Archangel Uriel, into whose care John was given: "... afterwards when John was five years old, he was delivered into the hands of the Archangel." (Chap. ix, v. 1) This latter scene had visual as well as literary precedent, for the angel leading John in the desert had been represented in Byzantine art as early as the eleventh century.¹⁰

Thus this Sienese frontal introduces us to a fact basic to the iconography of the Infant St. John, namely that the subject is entirely apocryphal and Eastern in origin.¹¹ Indeed it would seem that influence from the East began to inspire representations of the youthful St. John in Italy just after the middle of the thirteenth century. The Infant accompanied by Uriel is again represented in the frescos of the Parma Baptistery, which are to be dated ca. 1259-1270.¹² Slightly later in the century

the old woman died. In order to help with the burial, Jesus and Mary are miraculously transported from Egypt. They stay with John for seven days and teach him how to live in the desert. The Serapion text thus contains the first description of a meeting of the Madonna and Child with John in the desert. As we shall see, this legendary incident, later transmitted to the West, was of prime importance for Renaissance iconography of the Infant John. (See below, note 10, for another Eastern version of the Meeting.)

The Serapion text, incidentally, also provides the explanation of a very puzzling illumination in the Chludoff Psalter (Moscow: Mus. Historical, gr. 129, fol. 85r, probably ninth century; J. J. Tikkanen, *Die Psalterillustration im Mittelalter*, Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae, xxxi, p. 50, no. 5. Cf. also Barberini Psalter, Vat. Barb. gr. 372, fol. 140v; Theodore Psalter, Brit. Mus., Ms. Add. 19352, fol. 113v, both of the eleventh century; Kurt Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, Princeton, 1947, p. 192). Illustrating Psalm 85, verse 10 (Vulg. 84:11), there is a scene of the Visitation, with the Christ Child seated on the roof of a house blessing the Infant St. John who venerates Him from the roof of another (Fig. 1). In his account of the Visitation, Serapion had introduced the passage from the psalm by way of a typological parallel: "The holy and pious Virgin embraced then the true turtle-dove and the Word baptized John while still in the womb of his mother. And David appeared in the middle and said: 'Mercy and truth have met together, and righteousness and peace have kissed each other.' (Ps. 85:10) And immediately after John moved in the womb, as if wishing to come out and greet his master." (Mingana, *Woodbrooke*, p. 238) Thus the relation between the psalmist's words and the scene of the Visitation depends upon Serapion's story of John, and is not merely formal, as H. Cornell suggests (*Iconography of the Nativity of Christ*, Uppsala, 1924, p. 96).

6. Ephraim of Syria (ca. 379) in his second chant on the celebration of the Massacre of the Innocents (vv. 13-14), describes the worship of the Child by Zachariah and Elizabeth and the Infant St. John (cited by Theodor Innitzer, *Johannes der Täufer*, Vienna, 1908, pp. 436-37).

7. Dated ninth century by Alexander Berendts (*Studien über Zacharias-Apokryphen und Zacharias Legenden*, Leipzig, 1895; also "Die Handschriftliche Überlieferung der Zacharias- und Johannes-Apokryphen," *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Ge-*

schichte der Altkristlichen Literatur, ed., Gebhart and Harnack, N.F., Band 11, Leipzig, 1904). Schonfield (*op.cit.*, p. 12) believes it is somewhat later. A brief English redaction is given by M. R. James, *Lost Apocrypha of the Old Testament*, "Translations of Early Documents, Series I, Palestinian Jewish Texts (Pre-Rabbinic)," London, 1920, pp. 75-77. The German translation is quoted by Ilse Falk, *Studien zu Andrea Pisano*, Hamburg, 1940, pp. 90-93.

8. Falk (*ibid.*, p. 126) concludes from this relationship that the frontal is dependent on a Syrian-Palestinian tradition of apocryphal illustration. See note 30 for another representation of this scene.

9. Cf. note 5.

10. Cf. Paris, gr. 74, fol. 107v (Henri Omont, *Évangiles avec peintures byzantines du XIe siècle*, Paris, 1908, II, p. 95 [2]).

In the usual Byzantine type the Infant John is led from left to right by an angel who points ahead to a mountain. The frontal scene, while it retains the mountain to the right, shows Uriel carrying John on his shoulder. This entirely unique feature is explained by a specific moment in the Slavonic text. Soon after John went to the mountain with Elizabeth, according to the text, he was summoned to a meeting with the Infant Jesus at the "Temple of God," after which: "Jesus betook himself with Gabriel back to Egypt, but John went into the mountain with Uriel." (chap. vi, v. 7) Since at that point John was still too young to walk, he is represented being carried back to the mountain by Uriel.

11. The style of the frontal may also point to the East: some scholars even believe the work was actually done by a Greek artist (cf. Brandi, *loc.cit.*, and note 64). However Millard Meiss indicates that it is by an Italian who although "deeply indebted to Byzantine art" is also "dependent upon northern Gothic painting." ("A Dugento Altarpiece at Antwerp," *The Burlington Magazine*, 71, 1937, p. 23 and n. 23).

12. Cf. Laudedeo Testi, *Le Battistero di Parma*, Florence, 1916, pp. 206ff., fig. 162, where the angel is incorrectly identified as Gabriel. Although the style of the fresco is decidedly Eastern, an interesting variation on the Byzantine formula for the scene occurs: the artist emphasizes John's tender age by giving him, instead of his prophetic scroll, a sheet upon which are written the first letters of the alphabet: ABC/DE/FG. Another Byzantine example of *John Led by Uriel* (Fig. 2)

the Eastern apocrypha entered Italian literature, when the Pseudo-Bonaventura included several details taken from the legends of John's early life in his *Meditationes Vitae Christi*.¹³

It was the early fourteenth century, however, that witnessed the complete absorption of the Eastern legends of St. John's infancy into Italian tradition. This work of amalgamation was accomplished by Fra Domenico Cavalca in the "Life of St. John the Baptist" which forms a part of his *Volgarizzamento delle vite dei SS. Padri*.¹⁴ Cavalca, well known to historians of literature for his contributions to Italian prose style,¹⁵ is also, as we shall see, enormously important as a source for Renaissance iconography of the Baptist; yet his work has been only very briefly noticed by art historians.¹⁶ Cavalca was born around 1260 in Vico di Pisa, and became a Dominican monk in the monastery of St. Catherine in Pisa. His holy life and intellectual activities made him so renowned that upon his death, "tutta la città ne accompagnò il feretro al sepolcro."¹⁷ The *Vite*, which were written between 1320-1342, are, as Cavalca himself says, a compilation of stories of divers origin and authorship which he translated into Italian, "per uomini semplici e non litterati."¹⁸ The text, however, is by no means a literal translation of its sources; rather, the traditional events are retold in a very expressive style and surrounded by a multitude of homely details. The first section of the Life of St. John describes his youth, incorporating all the narrative elements of the earlier versions and amplifying them greatly.¹⁹ It thus brings the apocryphal tradition to a climax, while the style in which it is written introduces that tradition to the Italian Renaissance. At the same time Cavalca's text was the fountainhead of the entire subsequent development of the iconography of the Infant St. John in the West.

Cavalca's influence on the visual arts was felt in Florence almost immediately. This is unquestionably the case with two scenes from the Life of St. John in Andrea Pisano's Doors for the Florentine Baptistery.²⁰ In the *Naming of John* (Fig. 5), although the figure of Zachariah does not depart from tradition, the presence of the Madonna holding the swaddled infant is entirely

gives us an insight into the possible ways in which the Eastern motif was transmitted to Italy. This scene formed part of a silver plaque which is now lost, but of which a cast is preserved in the Museo Cristiano of the Vatican. A. F. Gori (*Thesaurus veterum Diptychorum* . . . , Florence, 1759, III, "Monumenta Basilicae Baptistarii Florentini," pp. 349ff.), who owned the cast and records the original as part of the treasure of the Florentine Baptistery, considered the style to be twelfth century. W. F. Volbach ("Venetian-Byzantine Works of Art in Rome," *ART BULLETIN*, XXIX, 1947, pp. 86-94), thinks that the original must have been early fourteenth century, but concurs that it was either imported from the East or made in Italy by oriental artists. (I am indebted to Prof. Charles R. Morey for his kindness in obtaining photographs of the cast for me.)

13. In the *Meditationes* (*Opera*, ed. Rome, 1596, vol. VI), the Pseudo-Bonaventura (identified as Johannes de Caulibus of S. Gimignano by P. L. Oliger, "Le 'Meditationes Vitae Christi' del Pseudo-Bonaventura," *Studi francescani*, new ser., VII, 1921, Numero Speciale, pp. 143ff.; new ser., VIII, 1922, pp. 18ff.) describes both the visit of the Holy Mothers and their children (chap. XI, "De purificatione Beatae Virginis," p. 358), and the Meeting of Jesus and John in the Desert (chap. XIII, "De reditu Domini ex Aegypto," p. 360). In the Eastern legends the latter scene was presented as a solution to the problem of burying John's parents (Serapion text, *loc.cit.*; Slavonic text, chap. VI, v. 6); in the Pseudo-Bonaventura, however, it is made into a simple narrative detail in the story of Christ's youth.

For illustrations to these scenes, see below, note 30.

14. The first complete modern edition of the *Vite* is found in *Biblioteca scelta di opere italiane, antiche e moderne*, CCXLIV, *Volgarizzamento delle vite dei Santi Padri*, ed., D. M. Manni and A. Cesari, 6 vols. (vols. IV-VI are called "Vite di alcuni santi scritte nel buon secolo della lingua toscana"), Milan,

1829. "La Vita di San Giovanni Battista," is in vol. IV, pp. 259-369 (hereinafter called simply Cavalca).

15. Alfonso Zacchi, *Fra Domenico Cavalca e le sue opere*, Florence, 1920; Carmelina Naselli, *Domenico Cavalca*, Città di Castello, 1925; Domenico Cavalca, *Le Vite dei SS. Padri*, intro. C. Naselli, Turin, 1926.

16. Falk, *op.cit.*, p. 100; Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, Cambridge, 1953, I, pp. 281ff.

17. Cavalca, *Volgarizzamento* . . . , I, p. xv.

18. *ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

19. The story of John's youth as told by Cavalca is briefly as follows: After the visitation Mary remains to be present at John's birth and to assist Elizabeth. Six months later John is in turn taken to Bethlehem by his parents to see the new born Savior. Thereafter Elizabeth and Zachariah educate John piously. When he is five years old he begins to go out into the woods alone, returning each night to relate his adventures. Although his parents advise him not to go too far from home, every day he goes deeper and deeper into the woods and finally he ventures to spend the night there. After that experience he spends days at a time in the desert. His parents try to understand his desire for solitude and a life of contemplation. When, at the age of seven, John decides that he must leave home forever, they realize that it is God's will, and reluctantly allow John to depart with their blessings. Not long after, John encounters Mary and Joseph with Jesus, who are passing through the desert on their way back from Egypt. They remain together a day and a night, and pay a brief visit to Elizabeth and Zachariah. The Holy Family then continues its journey home and John returns to the desert where he begins a new life of strict penitence.

20. Dated ca. 1334 (Falk, *op.cit.*; Falk and Jenő Lányi, "The Genesis of Andrea Pisano's Bronze Doors," *ART BULLETIN*, XXV, 1943, p. 152).

new to representations of the scene.²¹ This latter group is to be explained only on the basis of Cavalca's text. There it is specifically stated that Mary, beside being the first to touch John, also carried him to Zachariah.²² "E la nostra Donna . . . levosselo [John] in collo e portollo a Zaccheria, ed egli il guardò con grande allegrezza e benedisselo. . . ." (Cavalca, p. 267) Andrea has combined the traditional Naming with a pointed reference to Cavalca.²³

It has been maintained that Pisano's relief showing the Infant John in the desert (Fig. 6) was derived from a mosaic in the vault of the Baptistry (Fig. 7).²⁴ As regards the general composition this may very well be the case since both scenes depict John, now without the guiding angel, walking from left to right up the slope of a mountain.²⁵ Yet there are several important differences of detail which require explanation. Pisano's relief, in contrast to the mosaic, has flowers, trees filled with birds, and a variety of other forms of wild life. To the right, a torrent of water spills down the mountain toward which John is walking. These elements are not, as may at first be concluded, merely genre details; they also indicate a new meaning. The desert as Cavalca describes it is full of natural beauties; he speaks of flowers, lovely trees and many animals with which John made friends: ". . . incominciò a trovare di quelle bestiuole piccolle, che stano per il bosco, e incontanente corse a loro, e presele, e abbracciolle, e recossele in grembo, e dimesticavasi con loro . . . e quelle bestiuole venivano a lui, e stavansi con lui, come fanno a noi le dimestiche . . ." (Cavalca, p. 282) Of the birds in particular, he says: ". . . trovava le nidiate degli uccelli, grande e piccoli, e veniva a loro, e poneva loro la mano addosso dolcemente . . . e niuna paura mostravano di lui. . . ." (Cavalca, p. 290) Thus it is specifically Cavalca's "*bosco*" that Pisano has represented. Moreover, the mountain, though retained from the visual tradition, receives a special significance through Cavalca's text. In the desert John meets with the Infant Jesus who reveals to him the great events that were to follow. Thereupon John goes to the River Jordan and: ". . . quando e' giunse ad esso fiume, sì lo benedisse dicendo: 'Beato se' Giordano, che in te si battezzera colui che ti fece'; e via vassene diritto al monte della quarentana (quarantina), dove Giesù gli aveva detto che starebbe quaranta dì e quaranta notti dopo il battesimo. . . ." (Cavalca, p. 302) Clearly the relief does not represent John's first entry in the desert, as was the case in the Baptistry mosaic, but a different scene altogether. The water is the River Jordan, the mountain is the Mount of Penitence, and the moment depicted is therefore John's ascent of the mountain directly after his meeting with the Christ Child.

21. In none of the representations on the doors do Zachariah, Elizabeth, or John have halos; the nimbed female figure in this scene must therefore be Mary.

22. For the iconography of the Birth of John with Mary present, see the references below, note 32.

23. Falk, *Studien*, loc.cit., and Panofsky, loc.cit., cite this relationship. Panofsky points out the similarity between this composition and the left wing of Roger van der Weyden's *Sz. John Triptych* (Kaiser-Friedrich Museum). A further confirmation of the fact that Roger used Andrea's Doors as his visual source is found in the center panel of the same triptych. The scene second from the bottom on the left side of the archivolt shows the Infant John in a mountainous tree-filled desert. The latter is particularly close to Andrea's representation of the scene (Fig. 6) which is placed next to the *Naming*.

Two other examples, both of the fifteenth century, of Mary holding John before Zachariah are known to me: Benedetto Ghirlandaio, *Legend of John's Youth*, Ryerson Collection, Chicago (Raimond Van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, The Hague, 1923-1938, XIII, p. 124, fig. 76); Umbro-Marchigian School, predella (center section), Vatican (Pietro d'Achiardi, *I Quadri primitivi della Pinacoteca Vaticana*, Rome, 1929, pl. 147a).

24. Cf. Mario Salmi, "I Mosaici del 'bel San Giovanni,'" *Dedalo*, 1930-31, fasc. IX-XI, pp. 543-70, esp. pp. 561ff., who places the cupola mosaics in the second half of the thirteenth century. The scene shows John going off to the desert for the

first time without the angel. The motif of the angel is also lacking in Cavalca's description of John in the desert (not yet written at the time the mosaics were done). This fact probably points to a common Eastern source for both the mosaic and Cavalca.

25. Falk, *Studien*, p. 79, and Falk-Lányi, *op.cit.*, p. 152, claim that Pisano's scene, because of the similarities with the mosaic, needs no literary source. This statement is made in response to Adolfo Venturi (*Storia dell'arte italiana*, Milan, 1901-1940, IV, pp. 426-27), who connects the Pisano scene with a Tuscan laud, which reads as follows:

. . .
essendo di cinque anni picolino
soletto ogni mattina et tutto il giorno
stava e la sera faceva ritorno.
Così di giorno in giorno più avanti
giva di selva in selva, in prato e n' boschi
laudando il buon Giesu con dolci canto
fuggendo le delizie e mondan toshi
trovando animal fieri e tutti quanti
qual sua familiari che lo conoschi
pareva ciascuno, e dimestico et pratico
conversando con lui non qual salvatico.

(Cf. Paul Kristeller, *Early Florentine Woodcuts*, London, 1907, p. 75, no. 200) Even a brief comparison reveals that the laud, which dates from the fifteenth century, is based in every detail on the text of Cavalca, as is Andrea's relief.

Pisano, a fellow townsman and exact contemporary of Cavalca, was the first artist to make use of Fra Domenico's narrative. Once introduced, it became almost immediately the standard source for scenes of St. John's childhood. For example, a relief on the *Dossale d'Argento* in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo of Florence,²⁶ while retaining the composition and the peaceable character of the desert from Andrea, returns to the traditional scene of John's entrance into the desert (Fig. 8); but even this event has now been reinterpreted in terms of Cavalca. For at the left is introduced a group of figures watching John's departure from the city gate. Through Cavalca it is revealed that these are John's friends and relations who, headed by Zachariah and Elizabeth, come to bid him farewell: "... e venivano i parenti e' vicini a fare festa con loro e a vedere il fanciullo e molti gittavano lagrime di divozione di vedere questo fanciullo così santo ... e tutto allegro e giocondo esce ... ed ecco che se ne va inverso il deserto." (Cavalca, pp. 287-89) In John's light step and fluttering drapery, the artist of the relief has represented even the joyous mood in which, according to Cavalca, John took his leave.

It thus becomes evident that through a complete fusion of the Byzantine scene, in its Tuscan transformation, with details contributed by Cavalca,²⁷ the figure of St. John as an infant hermit became an established part of Florentine iconography by the mid-fourteenth century.²⁸

In the following century representations of the early life of St. John reached their highest degree of elaboration. In the group of frescos by Lorenzo and Jacopo Salimbeni in the Oratorio of San Giovanni at Urbino,²⁹ a meeting of the Holy Family and John (Fig. 12) is included for

26. The fourteenth century parts of the *Dossale* (of which this scene is one, dated 1366-1367) are attributed to Leonardo di Giovanni, Betto di Geri, and Cristoforo di Paolo (Giovanni Poggi, *Catalogo del Museo dell'Opera del Duomo*, Florence, 1904, p. 43, no. 97).

27. Two small paintings (probably predelle) from the second half of the fourteenth century retain the original Byzantine type of John with Uriel but show it in combination with details taken from Cavalca's narrative. One of these (Fig. 10, attributed to Baronzio, Amadore Porcella, *Guida della Pinacoteca Vaticana*, Vatican City, 1934, no. 185, and to Maestro Romagno, Luigi Coletti, *I Primitivi*, Novara, 1947, III, pl. 34[d]) shows the angel leading John in the usual manner to the left. Up the mountain, to the right, little John kneels in prayer. Remembering John's ascent of the Mount of Penitence (here the theme of the River Jordan from the Pisano composition is reduced to a small pool in the right foreground), we find that Cavalca continues: "E giugnendo là suso ... (John said to himself) 'Quivi sarà un buono stare in orazione.' ... E puosesi in orazione e pensava di lui e di tutta la sua vita ... (Cavalca, p. 302) Thus the Romagna artist, whose style also shows Tuscan influence, combines the rigid motif with a modern addition.

The other painting (Fig. 11), from perhaps a little later in the century (Pietro Toesca, "Trecentisti toscani nel Museo di Berna," *L'Arte*, XXXIII, 1930, pp. 5-15, esp. p. 15 n. 1 [no. 881]), shows John and the pointing angel now facing the opposite direction. This time the angel points to a second angel who holds a small camel's hair cloak over his arm. This unique scene illustrates a charming passage in which Cavalca explains how he thinks John obtained his hair coat: "E quando venne il tempo che le sue vestimenta erano già rotte, sicchè cascavano tutte ... come Iddio volle, un di trovò una pella di cammello; e non posso io pensare, come questa cosa si fosse, se non che Iddio la facesse apparecchiare agli angeli suoi ..." (Cavalca, p. 305. Cavalca's account reflects an ancient tradition of the divine origin of John's raiment, cf. the Slavonic text, Chap. IX, v. 1.) The passage explains the presence of more than one angel, and the panel shows John about to receive the coat.

The subsequent paragraph in Cavalca provides the source for Domenico Veneziano's *St. John in the Desert* (National Gallery, Washington, D.C., *Paintings and Sculpture from the*

Kress Collection, Washington, 1945, ill. on p. 28): "Vedendo Giovanni questa pella, incontanente pensò di porsela addosso ... ed incominciò a ringraziare Iddio che gliele aveva apparecchiata, e puonesi la pelliccia addosso." (Cavalca, p. 305) Following Cavalca, Veneziano has depicted the saint in a mountainous desert, casting off his old clothes in favor of the desert garb.

The right section of the Umbro-Marchigian predella in the Vatican (cf. above, note 23) shows John walking off to the desert with his camel cloak over his arm, while farther to the right he is seen on the mountain in prayer, wearing the cloak; the predella in this way reflects both these incidents described by Cavalca.

28. Dr. Panofsky has drawn my attention to the one known fourteenth century Northern example of the young St. John: Jacquemart de Hesdin, *St. John in the Wilderness* in the *Petites Heures du Duc de Berry*, Paris, Bibl. Nat., Ms. Lat. 18014, fol. 208, ca. 1380-1385 (Panofsky, *op.cit.*, II, pl. 14, fig. 33). John is seen seated at the mouth of a cave with a variety of beasts and birds around him. The source for John with his animal friends, as we have noted above, is found in Cavalca, p. 282. Even closer to the illustration is the following: "... così s'abbracciava coi lioni e colle bestie grandi salvatiche, che trovava nel disert ... e quando queste bestie piccole, o grandi gittassero fuori alcuno gridò secondo lor modo ..." (Cavalca, p. 290)

Not only was the style of this Franco-Flemish illuminator strongly influenced by Italian art (cf. Panofsky, *op.cit.*, I, p. 377), but also his subject in this case had an Italian source. It is possible that Jacquemart might have known Cavalca through one of the many old French translations called "Le romans de Saint Iean Baptiste" that were made in verse and prose and went under the name *Romanzo dal Du-Fresne* (cf. Cavalca, p. x). It should be noted also that the cave in front of which the young hermit sits reflects John's hiding place in the ancient apocrypha; evidently Jacquemart also was fully aware of the pre-Cavalcan literary heritage of St. John iconography.

29. The frescos are signed and dated 1416 (Pasquale Rotondi, "Studi e ricerche intorno a Lorenzo e Jacopo Salimbeni," *Argomenti di arte marchigiana*, Fabriano, 1936, pp. 79-84; Arduino Colasanti, "Lorenzo e Jacopo Salimbeni da Sanseverino," *Bollettino d'Arte*, IV, 1910, pp. 409-20).

the first time as one of the important events of the Baptist's life.³⁰ Unfortunately this scene was partially destroyed when a door was cut through the wall. Enough remains, however, to identify the Infant St. John, dressed in a short lavender tunic, kneeling in veneration before Mary and Jesus. Christ stands next to His mother and looks fondly at John, as Mary caresses his head. Cavalca records that while in the desert the Infant John met the Holy Family on its return from Egypt. The fresco is almost an exact transcription of Cavalca's account of this moment: "Essendo Giovanni Battista nel diserto, in quei tempi ch'egli v'andò, ecco che l'angiolo andò in Egitto a annunziare a Giuseppe che v'era istato setto anni che si ritornasse colla Madre e col Figliuolo quì in Giudea nella terra sua. E viensene il benedetto Giuseppe colla Madre e col Figliuolo per lunga via. Passando per questo diserto, come Iddio volle, venne là dov'era Giovanni Battista, e incontanente che vide venire da lungi la Madre e il Figliuolo, ispirato da Dio, conobbegli, e incontanente cominciò a correre inverso di lui e giunse Giovanni e gittossi tutto quanto in terra a baciare i piedi di Messer Giesù; e Giesù il prese per le braccia e levollo suso e baciollo nella fronte a poi gli diede la pace; 'Pace teco, apparecchiatore della via mia.' E Giovanni reverentissimamente; 'Deo Gratias.' E Messer Giesù gli fece cenno che egli andasse innanzi a fare reverenzia alla Madre . . . e la Donna nostra il ricevette con tanta allegrezza e con tanto amore che non si potrebbe dire . . . e dice: 'Pace sia teco, figliuolo carissimo. . .'" (Cavalca, pp. 292-93)³¹ In the foreground to the left, deer, rabbits and other beasts peek out of a lovely wood to witness the meeting, again in reference to the animals with which John had made friends.³²

The development we have traced thus far shows an important change of emphasis in the choice of scenes from John's youth. Three successive stages in this typological development can be defined. First, the Byzantine scene of John and Uriel was introduced in the second half of the thirteenth century. Then, and in the first part of the fourteenth, the accompanying angel disappears and the youthful saint goes off into the desert to dwell there alone.³³ Finally, in the later

30. An earlier *Meeting* (ca. 1390) is found on an altar attributed to the School of Cola di Petruccioli in the Pinacoteca of Trevi (Fig. 9, Van Marle, *op.cit.* v, pp. 112-13, fig. 68). Since the scene is included as an event in Christ's life, it presumably depends upon the text of the Pseudo-Bonaventura (cf. note 13). Interesting confirmation is found in what may be the only extensively illustrated manuscript of the *Meditationes*: Paris, B.N. Ms. It. 115 (probably Siennese, mid-fourteenth century), where the Meeting appears on fol. 46, illustrating chap. XIII. Thus it would seem that the *Meditationes* gave rise to the first illustrations of the Meeting of the Holy Family with John. However, the Salimbeni fresco is the first monumental example of the subject in the context of St. John's life. As we shall see, it was Cavalca who, by making use of the Pseudo-Bonaventura's narrative (cf. note 31), provided the basis for transferring the scene from the life of Christ to that of St. John.

The Paris manuscript also contains an illustration of the Visit of the Holy Mothers and their Children (fol. 36, chap. IX); this is the same moment as is represented on the Siena Frontal (Fig. 3; cf. note 8), perhaps indicating a predilection in the Siennese school for the subject.

(I am indebted to Dr. Panofsky for calling my attention to the existence of the manuscript. Miss Rosalie Green of the Index of Christian Art at Princeton, was most kind in providing me with information and photographs for study. She informs me that an edition of the manuscript is now in preparation.)

31. This event, as Cavalca notes (p. 290), took place when the Holy Family was returning from Egypt. He gives as his source the "libro della Vita di Cristo," which is doubtless the text of the Pseudo-Bonaventura where the scene of the Meeting is introduced at the same moment (cf. note 13).

32. Other scenes in the Salimbeni cycle also depend upon Cavalca, viz. the *Nativity of John*, and *John Preaching in the Wilderness*: one of the usual ways of representing John's birth shows Mary behind the bed, holding John at her shoulder (e.g.

the *St. John Altar Frontal*, Brandi, *loc.cit.*; Andrea da Bologna, polyptych, Fermo Gallery, Van Marle, *op.cit.*, iv, fig. 215, etc. For the iconography of the Nativity of John with Mary present, cf. Falk, *Studien*, pp. 98ff., Falk-Lányi, *op.cit.*, pp. 132ff.; Middeldorf, *op.cit.*; Panofsky, *op.cit.*, i, p. 281 and notes). This type probably derived from Byzantine Koimesis scenes in which Christ stands behind the bier of Mary holding her soul-image near His shoulder (e.g. for *Death of the Virgin*, Martorana, Palermo, see Otto Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, London, 1949-50, p. 217, pl. 56). Visually, the Salimbeni fresco (Van Marle, *op.cit.*, viii, fig. 127) is based on this tradition. Nevertheless, it illustrates Cavalca's text, for the figure of Mary (Christ in the Koimesis type) holding John has been brought around to the foreground. By this arrangement, the artists implied that Mary, having stopped to show the child to his father sitting at the foot of the bed, is about to deliver him to Elizabeth who stretches out her arms to receive him. And indeed Cavalca says that after Mary stopped before Zachariah (cf. quote on p. 88): "... la nostra Donna riportò il fanciullo alla madre che gli desse il latte..." (Cavalca, p. 267) Moreover, the nurses, who are normally in the foreground, are here shown behind the bed, since according to Cavalca they were told not to touch the child (*ibid.*).

The Salimbeni scene of John Preaching in the Wilderness (Van Marle, *op.cit.*, viii, fig. 129) portrays John as an adolescent, now wearing a camel's skin. This also is in accordance with Cavalca who, as we have seen, states that John's regular clothes lasted until after he had seen Jesus.

Dr. H. W. Janson has called my attention to another, perhaps slightly earlier example of *Young St. John Preaching* (Fig. 13), attributed to Andrea di Bartoli, National Gallery of Ireland, no. 1089 (Berenson, verbally to the Director of the Gallery).

33. E.g. Giovanni del Biondo, *Altar Piece of the Baptist*, Contini Collection, left end of predella (Millard Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death*, Prince-

fourteenth century there emerges a preference for those moments of his early life in the desert in which John has contact with the Infant Jesus.³⁴ The Byzantine scene was soon all but dropped. However, out of the latter two stages, both individually and combined, grew nearly all the subsequent visual development of the iconography of the Infant St. John.

The *Giovannino Martelli* of Donatello (Fig. 16) has often been recognized as one of the first examples of that kind of Renaissance symbolism which combined spirituality with a new worldliness.³⁵ For as patron saint of the city of Florence, St. John was a political as well as a Christian symbol. It was Donatello's innovation to transfer this meaning from the figure of the mature saint to that of the youth.³⁶ The type of the young boy obviously stems from the fourteenth century representations of John walking in the desert. Yet, no longer is he that carefree lad of innocent rambling. His aspect is completely changed and the healthy energetic boy has become bony and emaciated. The free and purposeful gait of the earlier figures becomes a tense and jerky start that moves the body in one direction and the head in another. The hands clutch spasmodically at the cross and scroll, fingers straining and pressing into the body. The eyes bulge and roll back in their deep sockets and the thin lips part in a kind of strangled cry.³⁷ Clearly this is not the child who prayed and sang happily in the desert, as in the first part of Cavalca's story. Rather it is the boy who has already suffered penitence. This is John after his meeting with Jesus, when the meaning of the life and passion of Christ had been revealed to him. Donatello's choice in representing John after the Meeting had a precedent, as we have seen, in Pisano's relief on the Baptistery doors (Fig. 6). But in the relief the precisely defined direction in which the figure is moving shows him to be climbing the Mount of Penitence immediately after the Meeting. On the other hand, the very contradiction which we have observed in the movement of the *Giovannino Martelli*, indicates that he has already entered upon his life of aimless penitential wandering; it is thus highly significant that he is depicted as slightly older than Andrea's figure. For it is in this period of John's life that Cavalca describes his violent penitence, his wailing laments, his relentless agitation. Only then does the child become consciously the Precursor, to the extent of subjecting himself to every torture of the Passion: "Or ecco Giovanni angelo in carne e vestito come bestia . . . Or così stava Giovanni nel deserto, e quando contava e quando orava e quando gridava . . . quando piagnova dolorosamente per compassione del suo Maestro Giesù Cristo. Giammai non istava ozioso nella mente, e giammai non ristava d' affaticare la mente e il corpo . . . E così pensava tutte le cose che dovevano essere fatte nel corpo di Giesù Cristo, e tutte le faceva nella sua carne,

ton, 1951, p. 49, fig. 68). The type is retained in the fifteenth century, for example by Giovanni di Paolo, polyptych, *Life of St. John*, Ryerson Collection, Chicago (Lionello Venturi, *Pitture italiane in America*, Milan, 1931, pl. 136).

34. Further evidence for the growing popularity of these scenes from John's early life is found in the writings of Cardinal Giovanni Dominici (ca. 1400). In his *Regola del governo di cura familiare* (Florence, 1860, pt. 4, "Solonota a Dio," p. 131; ed. and trans., A. B. Cote, Washington, D.C., 1927; quoted by Creighton Gilbert, "On Subject and Not Subject in Italian Renaissance Pictures," *ART BULLETIN*, XXXIV, 1952, p. 207), Dominici suggests as representations suitable for the moral edification of children: "Battista santo, vestito di pelle di cammello, fanciullino che entra nel deserto, scherza cogli uccelli, succhia le foglie melate, dorme in sulla terra. Non nocerebbe se vedessi dipinti Iesu e il Battista . . . insieme congiunti. . . ." It seems probable that Dominici is here describing representations which he had actually seen. Moreover, since he was reader in Sacred Theology in Florence and head of the Dominican Order, Dominici unquestionably had an intimate knowledge of Cavalca's text, with which his suggestions have such obvious parallels.

Writings about St. John, all more or less influenced by Cavalca, are legion throughout the fifteenth century. (For examples, cf. Giuseppe Mazzatinti, *Inventari dei manoscritti*

delle biblioteche d'Italia, Forlì, 1910, IX, pp. 128, 129; X, pp. 102, 121, etc.; Paolo d'Ancona, *La Miniatura fiorentina*, Florence, 1914, II, nos. 623, 1007, p. 920 [index]; P. Kristeller, *op.cit.*, nos. 197, 198, 199, 201). Considering Cavalca's influence on the tradition of the Infant St. John, both visual and literary, a general study of his importance for other subjects would doubtless prove extremely fruitful.

35. Hans Kauffman, *Donatello*, Berlin, 1935, pp. 43ff. The iconographical evidence (see below, esp. note 38) seems to indicate a date of around 1453. This is considerably later than the usual dating (Paul Schubring, *Donatello*, Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1907, p. 37, ca. 1430; Kauffman, *ibid.*, late 1430's; P. Johansen, *Renaissance*, Leipzig, 1936, pp. 59ff., after 1422; Leo Planiscig, *Donatello*, Vienna, 1939, p. 40, ca. 1443).

36. Although here portrayed for the first time on a monumental scale, the adolescent John had been represented before standing alone in the desert (indicated only by a diagonal horizon line): in the lower panel of the left wing of the triptych by Tommaso da Modena, 1355-65, Galleria Estense, Modena, no. 1 (Rodolfo Pallucchini, *I Dipinti della Galleria Estense di Modena*, Rome, 1945, fig. 1).

37. The open mouth undoubtedly illustrates the words "Vox clamantis in deserto," (Isaiah 40:3) traditionally associated with the mature John.

salvochè quella della morte. . . ." (Cavalca, p. 306) Thus it was upon Cavalca's text that the true power of Donatello's conception depended. Through it he was able to confer upon the youth all the depth of meaning traditionally associated with the mature St. John, and thereby create an image of Florence's patron saint in the form of the young penitent.

Donatello's St. John quickly became a visual type that was used throughout the fifteenth century. It often happened that the visual form was followed while the meaning, originally very precise, was diluted or even lost altogether. Desiderio da Settignano's profile relief bust of St. John in the Bargello (Fig. 14)³⁸ shows the artist's obvious indebtedness to the Donatello figure. Similar are the disheveled hair, the bony facial structure, the widely staring eyes and open mouth. Yet, although John is still very sad, a large measure of the intensity which marked Donatello's sculpture is already lost. The process of dilution is continued in Alessio Baldovinetti's Cafaggiolo altar (Fig. 15). Here too the figure of the adolescent St. John, standing next to the enthroned Madonna and Child, has many features in common with the *Giovannino Martelli*.³⁹ Again the v-neck of the camel's hair tunic exposes the desiccated chest, while the outer garment folds over the left shoulder and winds around the left arm. The weight of the body still rests on the left leg with the right knee bent. Nevertheless, the pose of Baldovinetti's figure is the standard *contrapposto*, and it no longer contains the expressive suggestion of interrupted action. The face, although sorrowful, is quiescent and the head continues the direction of the stance in a manner that is almost relaxed. The particular moment of John's youth, that of fanatical penance in the wilderness, is gone and only the general appearance of the type survives. In the Baldovinetti painting for the first time the Young St. John is not represented in the desert; he simply takes his place among a group of saints in a purely devotional image.⁴⁰

Fra Filippo Lippi, while he too appreciated the visual form of Donatello's figure, also understood its implications and invested them with deep new significance. This is the case in Fra Filippo's altar of the *Adoration* (Fig. 17), which was commissioned ca. 1459 by Piero de' Medici and his wife Lucrezia Tornabuoni for the chapel of the Medici palace.⁴¹ Though it has long been recognized as the first occurrence of an iconographical type which later became characteristic of the Renaissance,⁴² the picture's many incongruities have steadfastly defied analysis. Through the figure of St. John, however, these very incongruities acquire meaning and take their places in a rich and unified content.

The central image represents the Adoration of the Child, in the form of the Nativity as described in the Revelations of St. Bridget. This type of the kneeling Madonna adoring the Christ

38. Leo Planiscig, *Desiderio da Settignano*, Vienna, 1942, p. 43, pl. 10, 1450-1453/54. Desiderio represented the Infant John one time before 1450 (Arconati-Visconti Tondo, Louvre, *ibid.*, pl. 1) in a narrative scene of the Meeting. The change in iconography between the Louvre tondo and Desiderio's later isolated figures (*ibid.*, pls. 8, 9, 13, and 37), tends to confirm the assumption that the *Giovannino Martelli* had been produced in the meantime.

39. Ruth Kennedy (*Baldovinetti*, Yale, 1938, pp. 53-60), does not note this relationship. She dates the painting 1453 or shortly after, in which case it would provide still another indication of the later date for the *Giovannino Martelli*.

40. The Donatello type appears in many other fifteenth century paintings; for example Jacopo del Sellaio, Trivulzio Collection, Milan (Van Marle, *op.cit.*, XII, p. 389, fig. 256), where he has become a beautiful young boy in a desert that includes a view of the city of Florence; School of Piero di Cosimo, Johnson Collection, Philadelphia (B. Berenson, *Catalogue of a Collection of Paintings and Some Art Objects*, "Italian Painting," Philadelphia, 1913, p. 278, pl. 77) where many symbols of John's penance and the Baptism are included; following Baldovinetti in the inclusion of the figure in an altar of the Madonna Enthroned are: Signorelli, Opera

del Duomo, Perugia (Mario Salmi, *Luca Signorelli*, Novara, 1953, p. 48, fig. 12); Botticelli, *St. Barnabas Altar*, Uffizi (Van Marle, *op.cit.*, XII, figs. 79, 81, 82), who for the first time truly exploits the ascetic ardor of the Donatello sculpture.

41. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, no. 69. For the important redating of the Altar around 1459, cf. Georg Pudelko, "Per la datazione delle opere di Fra Filippo Lippi," *Rivista d'Arte*, XVII, 1936, pp. 45-76, esp. p. 48; in contrast to Edward Strutt (*Fra Filippo Lippi*, London, 1906, p. 54), ca. 1435; B. Berenson ("Fra Angelico, Fra Filippo e la cronologia," *Bollettino d'Arte*, XXVI, 1932, pp. 1-22, esp. p. 14), 1440's; etc.

42. The painting has been regarded (Berenson, *Three Essays*, p. 103) as the first example of the subject generally referred to as the "Madonna and Child with the Infant St. John." Actually these three figures had been represented together before in narrative scenes (e.g., Petruccioli, Fig. 9; Salimbeni, Fig. 12; etc.). Furthermore, the "Madonna and Child with the Infant St. John" as an independent subject did not really emerge until a later period (see below, note 68). The subsequent discussion will make clear the real sense in which Fra Filippo's painting constitutes an innovation.

Child who lies before her on the ground, had recently been incorporated into Italian painting, with the result that it could now be presented without the usual details.⁴³ To the left is the youthful St. John, still visually related, although in a very loose way, to the *Giovannino Martelli*. The sober child in hermit's robes holds the cross and banner in his left hand and points to the reclining Infant. John's presence immediately poses a question, since he has no place in a Bridgetine Nativity, nor for that matter had he ever before been represented in an Adoration. There is but one source, absolutely unique, which relates that John saw the new born Christ, and this is the narrative of Cavalca. There it is told that at the time of Christ's birth, Mary wrote letters to Zachariah and his family describing all the wonders of the Nativity. They receive this vital news eagerly, but desire to see with their own eyes the scene that Mary had described. Thus Cavalca says: "... e diletta di pensare che Zaccheria colla sua donna portando il loro benedetto figliuolo andassono a visitare la nostra Donna e il diletto Figliuolo di Dio innanzi che si partisse dal presepio, e per vedere quel luogo dove Iddio aveva degnato che nascesse il suo Figliuolo. (Cavalca, p. 274)"⁴⁴ Cavalca, then, is the source for the idea that John saw Christ before He left His manger. Nevertheless, there are two important elements in the painting which conflict with Cavalca's text. According to the legend, John was taken to see the "presepio" by his parents when he was only six months old; he would thus have been several years younger than Lippi has represented him. Moreover, the wilderness in which the scene is laid, beside being entirely out of place in an ordinary Nativity or Adoration, has no parallel in Cavalca's description of the Visit. These discrepancies make it evident that the panel is not a simple illustration of Cavalca's narrative.

The praying monk directly behind John is identified as St. Bernard by the Medici Inventory of 1492.⁴⁵ It has been assumed that the saint was introduced as a commentary on the Adoration of the Child, and Bernard's writings have been cited as the source for the painting.⁴⁶ Actually, his presence has an altogether different explanation. If we look at the end of Cavalca's *Life of the Baptist*, we find that he refers to Bernard in witness to the sanctity and greatness of St. John. Indeed, Cavalca translates a portion of a Latin sermon by Bernard which praises John as being second only to Christ.⁴⁷ Bernard states John's venerable qualities in the form of rhetorical questions, and speaking of John as a hermit he asks simply: "Quis sic eremum concupivit?" Cavalca, true to his expansive prose style, translates Bernard's words as: "Qual fanciullo disidera la solitudine nel deserto come questo beato fanciullo Giovanni?" (Cavalca, p. 366)

It is obvious that Fra Filippo did not follow directly the writings of Bernard, which make no reference to the Infant Hermit. Rather, he followed Cavalca's interpretation of Bernard's sermon. For through Cavalca's elaborate translation, Bernard becomes a prime testimony to the venerableness of the saint as an infant. Thus it is clear that Bernard was introduced into the painting to

43. St. Bridget's vision of the Nativity is quoted in the original and in translation by Cornell (*op.cit.*, pp. 9-13). Cornell (p. 42) points out that by the time of Fra Filippo's painting, the Bridgetine Nativity type had fully developed into scenes of the Adoration of the Child. For an analysis of the meaning of the figures of Mary and Christ in this painting, cf. Schaff (*op.cit.*, pp. 34-42).

Miss Schaff calls attention to a bird in the right background of the painting but mistakenly identifies it as the pelican plucking his own breast, symbol of Christ's sacrifice. Actually there are two birds, both cranes, one nestling on the ground, the second standing on one leg with the other raised and holding a snake between its claw and bill. In these positions, the cranes seem rather to illustrate the virtue of loyalty as described in the *Fior di virtù*, a text on virtues and vices particularly popular in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The text states that cranes "have a king and they serve him with more loyalty than is encountered in any other animal. At night when they go to sleep . . . they always send two or three among them to stand guard. And these, in order not to fall asleep, keep a foot up in the air while the other stands on the ground . . .

And this they do out of loyalty to one another to protect their king and the other cranes who sleep. . . ." *The Florentine 'Fior di Virtù' of 1491*, trans. by N. Fersin, intro. by L. J. Rosenwald, Washington, 1953, chap. XXIII, pp. 64-65. (I am indebted to Dr. Panofsky for this reference.)

44. In Cavalca the theme of the Visit had its roots, as we have seen, in the Mediaeval tradition which preceded the appearance of the scene in the frontal in Siena (Fig. 3, cf. notes 6 and 7) and in the text of the Pseudo-Bonaventura (cf. notes 13 and 30).

45. Cited in Eugène Müntz, *Les Collections des Médicis au quinzième siècle*, Paris, 1895, p. 64.

46. Heinrich Brockhaus, *Forschungen über Florentiner Kunstwerke*, Leipzig, 1902, pp. 53ff.; he quotes the "Oratio Devota ad Dominum Jesum et B. Mariam Matrem Ejus" and "Prosa de Nativitate Domini" (Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, CLXXXIV, cols. 1323-28).

47. Cavalca calls it a sermon on the Death of St. John; actually it is part of St. Bernard's Sermon on the Nativity of John (Migne, *loc.cit.*, cols. 991-1002).

identify the figure of the youthful St. John as a hermit. Yet, John is wearing his camel's hair raiment and carries his traditional attributes, and we may well ask why it was necessary to emphasize so particularly his hermit state.

The setting of the painting is a little clearing in the woods. Across the center of the composition (at about the level of Mary's head) and down the right side flows a stream of water in a kind of cascade. In his narration of the meeting with the Holy Family, which took place some time after John had become a hermit, Cavalca describes such a clearing, one of John's favorite spots in the desert, to which he led the family to rest: ". . . e giunsero ad un bellissimo prato, nel quale Giovanni più volte s'era riposato, il quale aveva intorno molti bellissimi e grandi ginepri ed altri arboscelli, ed ivi a lato v'avea una vena di aqua bellissima. . . ." (Cavalca, p. 298) The setting is therefore that of the Repose after the Meeting in the Desert; John's age is thus entirely appropriate, for at this point some seven years had passed since his birth.

Evidently the moment of the Repose was of special importance, if for its sake Filippo was willing to sacrifice the traditional accoutrements of the Nativity and introduce a conflict in the children's ages. The nature of its importance is revealed by the fact that in this glade, as Cavalca relates, Christ promises John to come to him at the River Jordan and be baptized: ". . . e Messer Giesù dice: 'Vedi che io verrò a te al fiume Giordano e tu mi battezzerei, e in quel dì vedrai lo Spirito Santo sopra di me e la voce del Padre mio. . . .'" (Cavalca, p. 298) Thus Jesus prophesies to John the Baptism, as well as the appearance of the Trinity on that occasion. To visualize this prophecy Fra Filippo introduces a variety of symbols of the Baptism. He represents the Trinity, with God-Father above, the Dove of the Holy Ghost, Christ below, and the stream of the "prato" is used as the water of the Jordan.⁴⁸ Moreover, after the conversation with the Christ Child, as we have seen, John went to the mountain which he knew to be the one Christ would climb after the Baptism; the mountain is depicted on the left (behind St. Bernard) as another reference to that sacrament. A further allusion to the Baptism is found in the foreground just below John's feet, where an axe is embedded in a tree stump. Although it is used here as a kind of autographic device (Fra Filippo's signature is on the handle), the axe, along with the numerous logs and stumps seen throughout the landscape, are motifs common in Byzantine Baptism scenes, referring to John's words: "And now also the axe is laid unto the root of the trees: every tree therefore which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire." (Luke 3:9; Matthew 3:10)⁴⁹

These symbols of the Baptism show that Fra Filippo intends John to be interpreted not as the mere infant of the earlier visit to Bethlehem, nor as the child who recently came into the desert.⁵⁰ He is rather the Infant Hermit who, having met with Christ, has already learned of his mission of Baptism. He is, one might say, the "Proto-Baptist."

Thus, in order to symbolize the Baptism at the Adoration, Fra Filippo ingeniously incorporated references to every occasion on which, according to Cavalca, John and Christ met: John's visit to the "presepio"; the meeting in the wilderness when John became the Proto-Baptist; and the Baptism itself. To combine these elements it was necessary to invert the chronology of John's youth; but precise "sign-posts" are provided to make the meaning of the anacronisms clear.

It is true that from earliest Christian times the Baptism was traditionally symbolized in Nativity

48. There is another reference to the Trinity on the right, where a bridge of three boards passes over the stream. For other Nativities with the Trinity, cf. Cornell, *op.cit.*, figs. 15 and 31.

49. Josef Strzygowski, *Iconographie der Taufe Christi*, Munich, 1885, pp. 21ff. That the motif was known in Florence is proved by its presence on the portable mosaic altar of the thirteenth century, once housed in the Baptistery, now in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo (A. Venturi, *op.cit.*, v, p. 115, fig. 92).

Herbert Friedmann, *The Symbolic Goldfinch*, New York, 1946, overlooked the small bird just below the feet of Christ in this painting. Nevertheless, he does point out that besides being the symbol of the soul, the resurrection, fertility, etc., the goldfinch is often used as a symbol of Baptism (pp. 33, 34, 73, 121, 131, 134).

50. Henriette Mendelsohn (*Fra Filippo Lippi*, Berlin, 1909, p. 60) was the first to suggest that Jesus is the conventional Infant of the Nativity, while John is the older child of the legends.

scenes, by the midwives bathing the Child.⁵¹ But to introduce the Infant John for this purpose was completely unprecedented, and it may well be questioned whether there were any external motives behind the innovation. As we have noted, the painting was commissioned by Lucrezia de' Medici. Lucrezia, it will be remembered, was a gifted poetess; she wrote with great charm and piety, and exercised a stimulating influence on the writings of both her son Lorenzo and Luigi Pulci.⁵² Few of her works have come down to us; but among those that have, almost entirely overlooked heretofore, is a *Life of St. John the Baptist*. Written in *ottava rima*, the poem is preserved in two unpublished manuscripts of the fifteenth century now in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Florence.⁵³ Through this poem we learn that Lucrezia herself knew the text of Cavalca, for all of the narrative elements she uses come from that legend.⁵⁴ We find again that the tiny infant convinces his reluctant parents that he must live in the desert.⁵⁵ For the place of his penitence, John finds a friendly wilderness full of flowers and birds and fierce beasts that become his constant companions. The crystalline stream once more flows forth and John kneels beside it to pray. Thus, even Lucrezia de' Medici, like so many artists of her day, found means for expressing her veneration for the Infant St. John in the story of Cavalca. Evidently it was Lucrezia's particular devotion to the young John that prompted her to have him, rather than the conventional bathing scene, included as a symbol of the Baptism in the altarpiece of her family chapel.⁵⁶ When Fra Filippo received the commission, he naturally returned to Lucrezia's source—the narrative of Cavalca—whence he drew the figure's meaning and materials for weaving it into a scene of the Adoration. In doing this, Fra Filippo transferred the emphasis from the Infant John's penitence (as in the *Giovannino Martelli*), to his role as the Baptizer of Christ.⁵⁷ As a result a new image was added to the vocabulary of Renaissance religious symbolism.⁵⁸

51. For the bathing motif, cf. Ferdinand Noack, *Die Geburt Christi*, Darmstadt, 1894, pp. 16-51; for the midwives, E. Baldwin Smith, *Early Christian Iconography*, Princeton, 1918, pp. 23-30.

52. G. Levantini-Pieroni, *Studi storici e letterari*, 1, "Lucrezia Tornabuoni," Florence, 1893, pp. 3-83; Guglielmo Volpi, *Laudi di Lucrezia de' Medici*, Pistoia, 1900; Yvonne Maguire, *The Women of the Medici*, New York, 1927, chap. V, pp. 60-126.

53. Magl. Cl. VII, Cod. 338, "La Vita di Sancto Giovanni Baptista, composta de madonna Lucrezia, doña fu del magnifico huomo Piero di Cosimo de' Medici"; Magl. Cl. VII, Cod. 1159, in which "La vita et morte del glorioso Giovanni Baptista, composta in stanze per madonna Lucretia de' Medici" covers fols. 1-28; both are dated in the second half of the fifteenth century (Volpi, *op.cit.*, p. xiii).

Considering its importance, this text certainly deserves complete publication. For the present context, however, a transcription of the section dealing with John's infancy in Cod. 1159 must suffice (see Appendix). The opening initial of this manuscript, incidentally, shows the Infant St. John clad in skins striding through the desert in the regular Florentine manner. Besides the life of St. John, the same manuscript also contains a life of Judith, and several of Lucrezia's *laudi*; one of these is the "Ecco el Messia," which Brockhaus, *op.cit.*, p. 66, has very rightfully connected with the Nativity image in Fra Filippo's painting.

54. Lucrezia herself at one point states that all of her "storie bibliche" were based on "storielle in prosa volgare" (cf. Levantini-Pieroni, *op.cit.*, p. 77).

55. Cf. notes 19 and 59.

56. The extent of Lucrezia's interest in the childhood of John is indicated by the fact that he appears also in the Cafaggiolo altar of Baldovinetti (Fig. 15), as well as in Fra Filippo's later *Adoration* (Uffizi, no. 8353, ca. 1464), both of which she commissioned. Iconographically the latter painting is, for the most part, identical with the Medici altar. The monk, now seen in the right foreground, has been changed to St. Romauld (with his wanderer's staff), founder of the Camaldolite con-

vent where the painting was to be placed. As has been pointed out (Schaff, *op.cit.*, p. 114), the setting was particularly fitting since St. Romauld's dream took place in the wilderness, and since the fraternity he founded was originally made up of hermits. Here, moreover, the dedication of the cell was doubtless an important factor; for it was, as Vasari tells us, "intitolata a San Giovanni Batista" (*Le Vite de più eccellenti pittori etc.*, ed., Gaetano Milanese, Florence, 1906, II, pp. 615-16).

Although Vasari thought the cell was commissioned by Cosimo de' Medici and the painting by his wife, Pudelko (*op.cit.*, p. 47) has shown that the patrons were actually Piero de' Medici and Lucrezia. In fact the document concerned (quoted by Don Pietro Leopoldo, *Notizie storiche di Camaldoli*, 2nd ed., Florence, 1795, p. 106) shows the importance St. John had in the painting; it refers to the picture simply as representing St. John the Baptist: "Madama Lucrezia Tornabuoni, moglie del suddette Pietro, facesse dipingere a Fra Filippo Lippi Carmelitano il quadro *rappresentante S. Giovan battista* che poi dalla pietà della medesima fu applicata all' oratorio di questa cella." (My italics)

57. Compare Berenson's remark (*Three Essays, loc.cit.*) that John is present in this painting "as a mere bystander."

58. Further evidence of Fra Filippo's familiarity with the St. John legends is found in the fresco in the Cathedral of Prato (Mary Pittaluga, *Fra Filippo Lippi*, Florence, 1949, p. 185, pls. 98-99, ca. 1460-1464). Compare the right corner which shows John kneeling in farewell to his parents with: "E (Zachariah) preselo (John) e abbracciollo e baciollo nella fronte e disse: 'Figliuol mio, io ti benedico con tutto il corpo . . . Va in pace' . . . E la madre fece il simigliante. E 'l benedetto figliuolo s' inginocchia in terra e rende grazie. . . ." (Cavalca, p. 289)

(Another representation of John kneeling before his parents is found in the Benedetto Ghirlandaio panel cited above, note 23.) To the left John is seen praying in the stony wilderness; while this scene depends upon Cavalca (cf. note 27), the caves found in the setting refer to the hiding place in the cleft mountain of the ancient tradition.

The rich complexities of meaning in the Fra Filippo painting were so delicately balanced that a subsequent tendency to crystallize one aspect or another was inevitable. One extreme in this respect was to single out the narrative details and to make them the main point of interest. A painting possibly from the Fra Filippo workshop, for example, represents the *Meeting in the Desert* (Fig. 18),⁵⁹ with the inconsistency in the children's ages rectified by making both older. Jesus and John stride forward to clasp hands in a wooded grove filled with flowers and grazing animals. To one side are Mary and Joseph, who according to Cavalca were left behind when the children rushed forward to greet each other. As in the *Adoration*, the stream of water flows down the right side of the composition to form a pool. A portion of Fra Filippo's meaning is thus retained, for this stream is again identified as Baptismal water by John's baptizing vessel which is placed at the foot of the symbolic tree stump on the water's edge.⁶⁰

The opposite tendency among the imitations of Lippi's Adoration scene was to give up both symbolic and narrative elements, and retain only the visual form. This occurs in the altar of the *Madonna and Saints* by Mino da Fiesole (Fig. 19) in the Salutati Chapel of the Fiesole Cathedral.⁶¹ Here again St. John is represented together with the kneeling Madonna and Child, although now Christ sits up and gives His blessing to John who kneels before Him in adoration. The major change, however, is that John is as young as Christ; Fra Filippo's anachronism is thus eliminated, and along with it the meaning it involved. We have noted the figure of John kneeling in veneration to the Madonna and Child before in the Salimbeni fresco (Fig. 12). In the relief, however, John's reverence is combined with that of other adoring saints, and the context is no longer narrative, but purely devotional.

It was this devotional group of figures—the kneeling Madonna with Christ seated and blessing the venerating John—that was taken over by Leonardo da Vinci.⁶² In the Paris version of the *Madonna of the Rocks* (Fig. 23)⁶³ Mary embraces John, while Christ blesses His worshipful little relative kneeling at the left. The positions of the children strongly recall those of the Fiesole altar, although here John is without his regular attributes. It is perhaps for this reason that the attendant angel points so vigorously to John,⁶⁴ as if to identify him to the spectator by using the saint's own gesture. The painting, we recall, was to be placed not in Florence but in Milan, where the figure of the young St. John had not yet become familiar.⁶⁵ Many themes are included that show Leonardo's awareness of the apocryphal tradition. We have noted that Mary, as in the Fra Filippo and the Mino altars, still retains the kneeling position of the Bridgetine Nativity. This Nativity was described by Bridget as taking place in a cave;⁶⁶ hence there may be a reference to her revelation in Leonardo's setting. But more specifically the cave brings to mind the cleft mountain, John's hiding place in the story of the *Protoevangelium* and its mediaeval descendants. The same sources reveal the fourth figure, anxious to demonstrate the identity of John, to be the Archangel Uriel, who protected him while in the mountain.⁶⁶ Thus Leonardo reaches behind the current identification of the Infant John with a rocky wilderness setting, to its source in the earlier tradition of the

59. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, no. 94 (*Die Gemäldegalerie, die Italienschen Meister, 13 bis 15 Jahrhundert*, Berlin, 1930, p. 77).

60. Paul Schubring, *Die Italienische Plastik des Quattrocento, Handbuch der Kunstwissenschaft*, Berlin, 1919, x, p. 163, fig. 215.

61. In some early drawings by Leonardo the figure of the Infant St. John is studied in various poses (e.g., A. E. Popham, *The Drawings of Leonardo da Vinci*, London, 1947, pls. 23, 40a, 159, etc.).

62. Sir Kenneth Clark, *Leonardo da Vinci*, New York, 1939, pp. 43-47.

63. It is interesting to note that the Mino altar also contains, in the figure of San Remigio, a strong pointing gesture on the right side of the composition.

64. Berenson (*Three Essays, passim*) traces the migration of the figure from one area of Italy to another.

65. Cf. note 43.

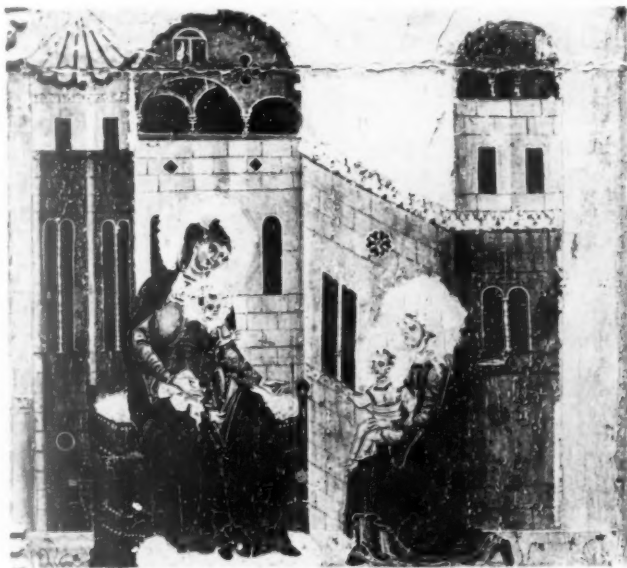
66. Concerning the *Protoevangelium*, cf. note 5. Curiously enough knowledge of the story as told there is demonstrated in a northern painting almost exactly contemporary with Leonardo's *Madonna of the Rocks*. The panel by the North-Netherlandish Master, ca. 1480, in the Boymans Museum, Rotterdam, depicts the only representation known to me of *Elizabeth and John Fleeing the Soldiers of Herod* (Museum Boymans, Rotterdam, *Jeroen Bosch Tentoonstelling*, 1936, pl. 45, cat. no. 25). This would constitute a specific reference to the Early Christian source (and its Mediaeval followers), since the event is not described in the later accounts of John's life.



1. Illustration to Psalm 85, Chlodoff Psalter, fol. 85r
Paris, Coll. Hautes-Études (photo: Frick)



2. John and Uriel (cast after lost silver slab)
Vatican, Museo Cristiano



3. Visit of Elizabeth and John to Mary and Jesus

Details of St. John Altar Frontal, Siena, R. Pinacoteca (photo: Alinari)



4. John and the Archangel Uriel



5. Naming of John

Andrea Pisano. Florence, Baptistry Doors (photo: Alinari)



6. John Climbing the Mount of Penitence



7. *John Entering the Desert*. Florence, Dome of Baptistry



8. *John Entering the Desert* (Dossale d'Argento)
Florence, Opera del Duomo (photo: Alinari)



9. *Meeting of the Holy Family with the Infant St. John*, attr. School of Cola di Petruccioli
Trevi, Pinacoteca



10. *John and Uriel, and John Praying on the Mount of Penitence*, attr. to Baronzio. Vatican (photo: Alinari)



11. *John Receiving the Camel's Hair Raiment*, Florentine School? Bern Gallery



12. Lorenzo and Jacopo Salimbeni, *Meeting of the Holy Family with Infant St. John*. Urbino, Oratorio di S. Giovanni



13. *John Preaching in the Wilderness*, attr. to Andrea di Bartolo
Dublin, National Gallery



14. Desiderio da Settignano, *St. John*
Florence, Bargello (photo: Anderson)



15. Alessio Baldovinetti, *Madonna and Saints*, Florence, Uffizi (photo: Brogi)



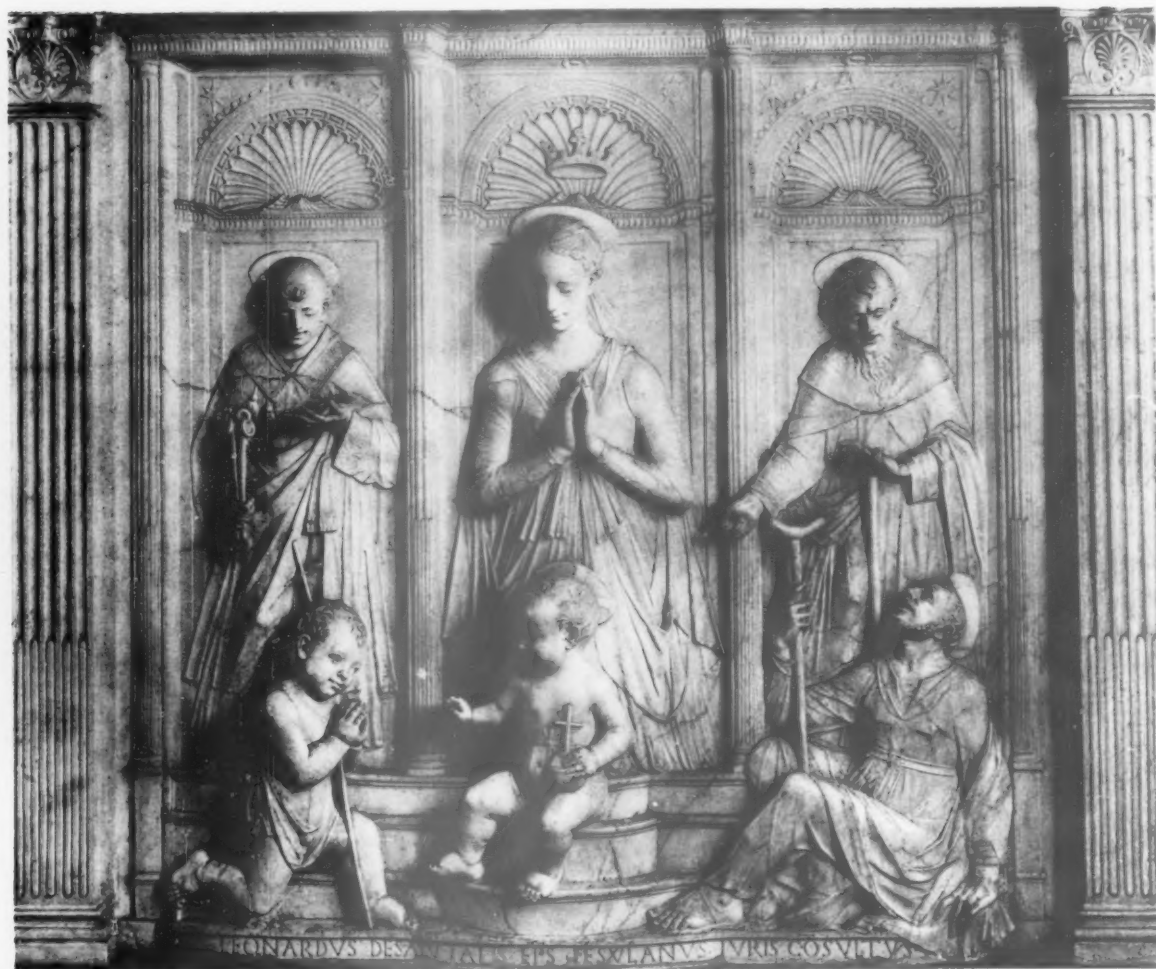
16. Donatello, *St. John the Baptist*
Florence, Bargello



17. Fra Filippo Lippi, *Adoration of the Child*. Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum



18. *Meeting of Jesus and John*, School of Fra Filippo Lippi. Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum



19. Mino da Fiesole, *Virgin and Saints Adoring the Child*. Fiesole, Cathedral (photo: Alinari)



20. *Meeting of Jesus and John*, attr. to Ghirlandaio
Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum



21. Luca Signorelli, *Visit of Zachariah, Elizabeth, and John to Joseph, Mary, and Jesus*. Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum



22. *Nativity with the Infant St. John*, Master of the Borghese Nativity
Rome, Borghese Gallery (photo: Alinari)



23. Leonardo da Vinci, *Madonna of the Rocks*. Paris, Louvre



24. Pintoricchio, *The Rest after the Meeting*. Siena, R. Pinacoteca (photo: Alinari)



25. Antonio Rossellino, *Infant St. John*
Florence, Bargello



26. *The Meeting*, School of Botticelli
Paris, Dreyfus Collection



27. Botticelli, *The Meeting*. Florence, Palazzo Pitti (photo: Alinari)

cave. Yet these ancient references are in turn subordinated to contemporary forms of symbolism. For the gracious rock pool placed before John is once more the Baptismal water, in the form of Cavalca's "vena di aqua bellissima."⁶⁷

In Leonardo's painting, as had been the case in Fra Filippo's Adoration, the tendency to bring John into an ever closer relationship with Jesus was focused on the Baptism. However, this tendency, which had begun even in the thirteenth century, did not cease when the Baptism had been symbolically incorporated. On the contrary, it continued to operate and finally reached an even deeper level of significance, which found its fullest expression only some twenty years later in another work by Leonardo, the *Virgin and St. Anne* (after 1500). In the interim certain changes in the content of the iconography had taken place which laid the groundwork for Leonardo's contribution.

In the numerous late fifteenth and early sixteenth century scenes that represent the Infant St. John with the Madonna and Child there can be distinguished two dominant streams of development: one visual, one symbolic. The first, or visual stream grew out of the *Madonna of the Rocks*. Leonardo's image, although firmly rooted in tradition, was primarily emotional in its effect. The generous protective gesture of Mary, the concentration of Jesus' blessing and John's response, served to blend the realms of narrative and symbol into a new poetic unity. Nevertheless, the majority of works which depend upon the painting destroy this intimate unity; they extract the individual motifs of Christ blessing and John kneeling in veneration, and transfer them to more formal scenes of the Madonna Enthroned.⁶⁸ In many such instances, John is quite removed from the central figures. Frequently, however, the usual tendency to tighten John's relationship with Christ exerts itself, and his position varies from wide separation to complete acceptance in the presence of the Virgin and Child. A unity akin to Leonardo's is often achieved, when John, embraced by the Madonna, kneels on the base of the throne.⁶⁹

The second, or symbolic stream is more complex. As we have noted, Fra Filippo's Adoration panel offered various possibilities for bringing the Infant John as a symbol of the Baptism into contact with the Christ Child. Out of these themes were subsequently distilled three distinct groups, each of which preserves the symbol of Baptism. One is the Visit of John to the "presepio"; the second is the true Nativity at which the Infant Hermit is present; and the third is the Meeting of John and Jesus in the Desert.

The first group is based on the passage in Cavalca which had originally served as Fra Filippo's source for bringing John together with the newborn Christ.⁷⁰ Paintings of this group are often quite erroneously labeled "Holy Family"; actually they depict a precise moment, the Visit to Bethlehem. There are many representations that show John and his parents arriving at the scene;⁷¹ or, having already entered, they kneel near the reclining Christ Child.⁷² Signorelli's Berlin Tondo (Fig. 21),⁷³ although lacking the usual domestic details, is to be considered as illustrating the moment of arrival. At the right of the panel, Elizabeth and Mary embrace in a Visitation-like

67. The most obvious iconographical change in the second version of the *Madonna of the Rocks* (National Gallery, London, Clark, *op.cit.*, pp. 142ff.) is that Uriel no longer points to John. Here John wears his camel's hair raiment and carries his reed cross, and the explanatory gesture is therefore no longer necessary.

68. A forerunner of the "visual stream" was Baldovinetti's Cafaggiolo altar (Fig. 15), actually the first to include the figure of Young St. John, though he appears as an adolescent, not as a child. It was through the development traced above that John achieved the infant form which became a visual type for use in devotional images. Strictly speaking only these images may be called "Madonna and Child with the Infant St. John," in the sense that they have no other implicit content (cf. note 42).

69. John comes progressively closer to the Enthroned Madonna in the following: Utile da Faenza attrib. (Louvre,

no. 11657, Van Marle, *op.cit.*, XI, p. 569, fig. 347; School of Botticelli, Borghese Gallery, no. 348, Paola della Pergola, *La Galleria Borghese in Roma*, 1952, pl. 79 bottom; Mainardi, Philadelphia (Berenson, *Three Essays*, p. 119); he is embraced by Mary in the Lorenzo di Credi, Borghese Gallery, no. 443 (della Pergola, *loc.cit.*, top).

70. See p. 93.

71. Girolamo Genga, *Sposalizio di S. Caterina*, left background, Barberini Palace no. 21293 (Nolfo di Carpegna, *Catalogo della Galleria Nazionale, Palazzo Barberini, Roma*, 1953, p. 29, fig. 67).

72. Marco Palmezzano, Vatican, no. 274 (Porcella, *op.cit.*, p. 93).

73. Mario Salmi (*op.cit.*, p. 61, fig. 66a); usually placed ca. 1498, the painting is dated by Salmi about seven years later. He mistakenly calls the second old man "S. Giovacchino" instead of Zachariah.

pose.⁷⁴ On the opposite side are Joseph holding the Infant Christ, and Zachariah, who holds John. While the children clasp hands, John inverts a flat cup over Christ's head. Thus the idea of Baptism, only symbolized by Fra Filippo, here becomes entirely overt with a direct representation of the Baptizing motif.

The second group is made up of Nativities of the Bridgetine type, in which John is represented in his wilderness garb. Although these scenes eliminate Fra Filippo's ambiguous setting, they retain the discrepancy in age between the children in order to identify the youthful John as the symbol of Baptism. In this group again John is brought more and more into the center of interest, and he finally kneels next to Christ as a part of the main image.⁷⁵ The lunette in Santa Maria Novella,⁷⁶ for example, follows Fra Filippo's composition and shows John quite distant from the Madonna and Child. However, in the Nativity tondo by a follower of Piero di Cosimo (Fig. 22),⁷⁷ John kneels in adoration even closer to Christ than the Madonna herself. But now John's traditional attributes, which since Fra Filippo's innovation had served to point him out as a symbol of Baptism, give a profound addition to the meaning of his presence at the Nativity. For Christ embraces John's reed cross, thus foreshadowing His later life when He embraced the Passion.⁷⁸

The third group is composed of scenes which retain Fra Filippo's wilderness setting, but resolve the difference in the ages of the children by making both older; the subject represented in these cases is the Meeting in the Desert, as described by Cavalca. We have seen the first example of this group in the Lippi school piece (Fig. 18). The same scheme is repeated in a panel attributed to Ghirlandaio (Fig. 20),⁷⁹ where the allusion to the Baptism is retained in the form of a stone fountain placed between John and Jesus.⁸⁰ The particular motif of greeting is expressed here by a hand clasp; it is as often represented by an embrace.⁸¹ The embracing motif,⁸² in turn, is used

74. Hence the painting has been called a "Visitation" (Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance*, Oxford, 1932, p. 530).

75. This progression can be seen in the following: Paolo Pollaiuolo(?), drawing, British Museum (Van Marle, *op.cit.*, XI, fig. 245); School of Francesco Pesellino, Jarvis Collection (Oswald Sirén, *Catalogue of the Jarvis Collection*, Yale University, New Haven, 1916, p. 126, pl. 45); School of Baldovinetti, Lee of Fareham Collection, Richmond (Van Marle, *op.cit.*, XI, fig. 182).

76. Attributed to Botticelli (Carlo Gamba, "Opere Giovanile del Botticelli," *Bollettino d'Arte*, XXV, 1932, pp. 493-504, esp. p. 502).

77. Attributed to the Master of the Borghese Nativity, Borghese Gallery, no. 343 (R. Langton Douglas, *Piero di Cosimo*, Chicago, 1946, p. 123).

78. The motif of Christ holding John's cross also appears in an altar of the Madonna Enthroned by Filippino Lippi in Santo Spirito, Florence, ca. 1490-1493 (Van Marle, *op.cit.*, XII, p. 325, fig. 207), thereby bringing the meaning of the Passion to the "visual stream" outlined above.

79. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, no. 93 (W. R. Valentiner, "Über Zwei Kompositionen Leonardos," *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, LVI, 1935, pp. 213-230, who tries in vain to attribute this painting to the young Leonardo by misediting a drawing actually done for a different subject; E.G.T., "Ein Neues Jugendwerk Leonardos?" *Pantheon*, XVII, 1936, pp. 96-97).

80. In this painting, the Mount of Penitence, a further reference to Baptism, is reintroduced in the landscape to the right, where the friendly animals race up a winding path.

Another painting which contains a similar stone fountain as a reference to Baptism is Pintoricchio's tondo in the Siena Gallery (Fig. 24, Brandi, *op.cit.*, p. 351, no. 495). Here, however, the moment depicted is that which follows the Meeting in Cavalca's narrative, i.e. the Repose. Mary and Joseph are seated together; he holds a keg and a loaf of bread and Mary blesses Jesus and John who are before them, walking arm in arm to the right. John carries a water vessel and Jesus points

to the small square fountain just beyond, which is their obvious goal. Cavalca describes this moment as follows: "e Giovanni prestamente prende la stagnata e va per l'acqua, e Messer Giesù con lui insieme andava, e faccendosi feste grandi, ad una fontanella piccola; e andavano ragionando insieme parole di santità . . . e trovarono la nostra Donna già a sedere . . . e Giuseppe sedeva con lei e riposavansi . . . e così stando Giuseppe trova la sacchetta del pane. . ." (Cavalca, p. 294). It will be remembered that the setting of Fra Filippo's *Adoration* was actually that of the Repose; following this suggestion Pintoricchio returned to Cavalca's account of that occasion and gave it a more literal visualization.

The figure of John in Pintoricchio's tondo repeats exactly the stance of the *Infant St. John* by Antonio Rossellino (Fig. 25, Bargello, ca. 1477; Planiscig, *Rossellino*, Vienna, 1942, pl. 90). Moreover, while Rossellino continued Donatello's idea of an independent sculpture representing the penitent Infant (whose scroll now reads *Agis Penitentiam*), he reverted to the type of the early fourteenth century narrative figure who dashes into the desert. Another example of this formula is in the Opera del Battistero, Florence, with the doubtful attribution to Michelozzo (A. Venturi, *op.cit.*, VI, p. 364, fig. 228).

81. For examples of the Meeting with clasped hands, cf. Filippino Lippi, drawing, Gardner Museum (Philip Hendy, *Catalogue of Exhibited Paintings and Drawings*, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston, 1931, p. 200); unknown Florentine Master, Minneapolis Institute of Art, no. 35.7.58 (not reproduced); for examples with the embracing motif, cf. Alunno di Benozzo, drawing, Uffizi no. 141 F (Berenson, "I disegni di Alunno di Benozzo," *Bollettino d'Arte*, XXV, 1932, p. 305, fig. 24); Benedetto Ghirlandaio, Reyerson Collection (cf. note 23); Jacopo del Sellaio, *cassone*, University Gallery, Göttingen (Van Marle, *op.cit.*, XII, p. 413, fig. 274).

The Meeting itself came to be used as a detail within a wilderness setting, as for example a small panel from the school of Perugino representing *St. Jerome in the Desert* (Palazzo Barberini, no. 727; di Carpegna, *op.cit.*, p. 49, fig. 26). Behind St. Jerome to the left, the children are seen embracing before a cave, John's apocryphal dwelling place. The

in paintings which, although derived from the Meeting, are less decidedly narrative. The subject of Botticelli's panel in the Palazzo Pitti (Fig. 27),⁸³ for example, is the Meeting, but the gestures of the figures are stressed rather than the story. The Madonna stands in an outdoor setting holding the Christ Child, who fondly embraces John standing below. Yet, in this panel the joy that the figures usually express at the Meeting has been replaced by an atmosphere of preoccupied melancholy. The change of mood is explained by the gestures, through which a new connotation has been introduced. For we are witnessing here, superimposed on the embrace of the Meeting, the Descent from the Cross in infant terms. Mary bends over to support the Child in His downward movement, while John receives in his arms the upper part of Christ's body. John's reed cross, abnormally long and large, is placed directly behind the body, further emphasizing the idea of the Descent. Thus another level of meaning beyond the Baptism has been added to the legendary meeting. John has become a participant in the Passion.⁸⁴

In general, the iconography of the Infant St. John followed a steady course through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, one of ever diminishing breadth, but of ever deepening significance. It began with simple narrative scenes from Cavalca's Life of St. John, in the choice of which there was an increasing preference for those moments associating the Infant Saint with the Christ Child. Their association in turn was continually made closer, and ultimately produced the specific symbol of the Baptism. Finally, at the end of the fifteenth century in Florence, the whole tendency to intensify the relationship between the children culminated in John's sharing with Christ the foreknowledge of the Passion.⁸⁵

Leaving Florence in 1482, Leonardo missed the entire last stage of this development, wherein the essential significance of the Infant St. John was enlarged from Baptism to include also the Passion. At the time Leonardo produced the first version of the *Madonna of the Rocks*, the figure was still merely an embodiment of the Baptism. In this spirit John was included in the first studies for the *Virgin and St. Anne*, begun in 1497-1499 before Leonardo left Milan.⁸⁶ However, the subsequent drawings for that composition show a fundamental change: at a certain point in the evolution a lamb is substituted for the Infant John.⁸⁷ We realize now that this change had more

association between John and Jerome again depends on Cavalca who, in his "Life of St. Jerome," devotes a chapter to the subject of "Come assomiglia Girolamo a S. Giovanni Battista" (Cavalca, *Volgarizzamento* . . . , v, pp. 12-14). The same iconography, without the cave, is seen in the Bartolomeo di Giovanni *St. Jerome*, Jarvis Collection (Sirén, *op.cit.*, p. 142, pl. 53).

82. Formally the motif varies from an embrace with Christ looking at Mary, to scenes where the children actually kiss: Botticini, Gardner Collection, Boston (Berenson, *Three Essays*, fig. 112); Filippino Lippi, Warren Collection, Lewes (*ibid.*, fig. 76); Davide Ghirlandaio, Stefan van Auspits Collection, Vienna (*ibid.*, fig. 113); Raffaellino del Garbo, Dresden Gallery (*ibid.*, fig. 75).

83. Wilhelm von Bode, *Botticelli, Klassiker der Kunst*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1926, p. 86.

84. The prefiguration of the Passion can be traced in other groups as well. We have seen it in an example of the Madonna Enthroned (cf. note 78). It appears also in a painting by the Botticelli school which combines two types by representing the blessing Christ and venerating John in a Meeting setting (Fig. 26, Dreyfus Collection, Paris; cf. Yukio Yashiro, *Sandro Botticelli*, Boston, 1925, 1, p. 248). Here the theme of the Descent from the Cross is continued in a very pointed manner. Christ, supported by Mary, hangs with one arm extended and His feet crossed, as if still in their nailed position.

Examples of the Nativity in which the Infant St. John is shown in connection with the Passion are Raphael's *Madonna del Velo* and *Madonna with the Sleeping Christ Child* (known through numerous copies, e.g., Tommaso di Stefano Lunetti, Palazzo Berberini, no. 589, de Carpegna, *op.cit.*, p. 58, fig. 42;

Sebastiano del Piombo, Museo Nazionale, Naples, Rodolfo Pallucchini, *Sebastiano Veneziano*, Milan, 1944, pl. 53). It has been pointed out (Gizella Firestone, "The Sleeping Christ Child in Italian Renaissance Representations of the Madonna," *Marsyas*, 11, 1942, pp. 54-55) that the motif of the sleeping Child in late fifteenth century painting is symbolic of the dead Christ, and that the veil which the Madonna draws back is prophetic of the shroud in which Christ's body was wrapped when taken down from the cross. In these paintings then, Mary is in the act of demonstrating Christ's death to the Infant St. John.

85. The idea of the children saddened by the knowledge of Christ's inevitable fate is found in Cavalca. In their conversation during the Repose, Christ reveals to John the truth of the Passion: ". . . e poi gli comincia a dire del fine, cioè della morte e passione sua e dicegli: 'Tu hai bene lette la profezia che si dicono di me; ma non l'hai ancora intese in tutto . . . Comincia Messer Giesù a raccontare tutte le 'ngiurie e tutte le villanie che dovevano essere intorno alla sua passione . . . (and He described) tutto l'ordine della passione appunto appunto. Ora t'aspetta, Giovanni Batista; ora éne mescolata la tua allegrezza di tanto dolore e de sì gran compassione al Signore che, se non fosse che Iddio il teneva, sarebbe caduto morto a' piedi di Messer Giesù . . . non passò mai nè di nè notte che non piangesse e dolorasse, pensando di quella passione.'" (Cavalca, pp. 298-99)

86. Clark, *op.cit.*, pp. 110ff.

87. For the compositional development of Leonardo's *St. Anne*, cf. Marilyn Aronberg, "A New Facet of Leonardo's Working Procedure," *ART BULLETIN*, XXXIII, 1951, pp. 235-39.

than purely compositional significance. For the figure of St. John disappears from the studies only after 1500.⁸⁸ This was the year in which Leonardo returned to Florence, and found that during his absence a whole new symbolism had been attached to the Infant Saint. The figure had by that time been so closely associated with the Passion that Leonardo could now take the final step, and in John's stead represent the Lamb, "that sacrificial animal which signifies the Passion."⁸⁹

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APPENDIX

"La vita et morte del glorioso Giovanni Baptista, composta in stanze per madonna Lucretia de Medici," Magl. Cl. VII, Cod. 1159, fols. 9-12v, l. 7 (R. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence).¹

Questo fanciullo crescendo in gran virtute
Dallo Spirito Santo confortato,
Ne tener anni per trovar salute
Nel grà deserto se ne fu andato,
E le suo prophetie sono adempiute.
E quivi stette e poi manifestato
Quando su tempo a Israel si schuopre,
Mostrando a ciasceduno le sue degnie opre.

Era Giovanni tanto gratio
Chi ne'l chonosce gli portava amore.
E chominciò a star solo e pensoso
E non dicea quello ch'ave nel chore.
Fra sè stesso qui dice: 'I' sto otioso,
Io ne doverre andar omai pur fore.
Io mi sto qui con agio e ben coperto.
La stança mia a esser nel deserto.'

L'altra mattina esi misse per via,
Sança dir nulla, solo fuor della porta,
E 'l suo pensiero e la sua fantasia
È d'andar nel deserto sança schorta.
E giunto nel deserto in se dicea:
'Quest aria e questa stança mi conforta,
I' mi starò pur solo camiemodo [con mio modo?]
Fra queste fiere e ucelletti i' godo.'

Egli andava chogliendo di que fiori,
Dicendo nell' entrata del deserto:
'Lodato Idio, ch' i' sono uscito fori,
E potrò aquistar qui qualche merto.
E mi par già sentir quem ogni chori
Lodar il lor Signor chon chanto sperto.'
Chosi Giovanni chon secho ha parlare,
L'ore venuta che sole mangiare.

Tant era il contemplar che de facea
E chon secho si stava aragionare,
Che di mangiare e non se n'av' edea.
E 'l sole ichominciava già a chalare.
Pur riguardando intorno e si vedea,

Alchune chose buone da mangiare,
Chome chastagne, mele, lochuste e ghiande,
E una fonte che chiare acqua spande.

Cholte che gli hebe di queste chosette,
Appresso a quella fonte si ponea,
In su que fiori e quelle fresche ebette
Che troppo have penato si dolea.
E mentrechè frassè ta chose a dette,
Egli alçò il chapo e dal lungi vedea
Venir messaggi che 'l padre ha mandare,
La madre anchor di lui face cercare:
'Ritornar mi bisogna a chasa um pocho
Del padre Zacheria e Lisabetta.'
Cerchato hanno di lui innogni locho.
In fino a hora di mangià l'aspetta,
E pel chiamare ciaschuno era già fiocho.
E chominciò la mente a star sospetta
Che potrebe essere di questo figliuolo
Se ne ma ito nel deserto solo?

Alchun de fede poi hanno chiamati,
E disson loro: 'Nonom possian trovare
El nostro figlio,' e molti schonsolati,
'Non sapian più dove ce ne cercare,
E però di cerchar siate parati,
Se fussi nel deserto a dimorare.
Sello trovate, menate l' chon voi,
Sanç' esso non tornate qui da noi.'

E servi prestamente sono andati,
E si parve che Idio gli amaestrassi,
Avendo già più luoghi ricerchati,
Truovon Giovanni che alla fonte stassi.
E chominciò a dir: 'Chi v' a mandati,
Che volete trovar fra questi sassi?'
'Mandati siamo dal vostro charo padre,
Che vi meniamo allui e vostra madre.'

Giovanni udendo questo si turbò,
Che stava quivi a suo chontemplatione,

88. The contemporary descriptions of Leonardo's cartoon of 1501 (now lost), already speak of the lamb (cf. note 89). This stage of the composition is preserved in the painting by Bresciannino, Kaiser Friedrich Museum, no. 230 (catalogue, p. 139).

89. From Fra Pietro Novellara's description of the lost cartoon (quoted in Clark, *loc.cit.*).

1. Only that portion of Lucrezia's text which concerns the Infant St. John is transcribed here. To facilitate reading of the text, punctuation has been added, and contractions separated; otherwise the orthography of the manuscript, including abbreviations, has been preserved. Missing letters, and suggested readings of doubtful passages have been placed in brackets.

E disse: 'Pochè vogliono, i' verrò
Per ubidire la loro intentione;
Ma prestamente qui ritornerò,
Chom avuto ho la loro beneditione.
Perche star mi vo' qui nella mie pace,
Però ch' al Signor nostro chosì piace.'

E si rigò e chollor s'aviare,
E verso la sua chasa ritornava.
E giunto a chasa chon dolce parlare
La madre el padre ogniun si l'abbraccava,
Dicendo: 'Figliuol vuo'ci tu lasc[i]are?'
Lu' rispondendo intal modo parlava:
'Da Dio i' fu mandato, e quest è certo;
Perche i' stessi un tempo nel deserto.

I' son venuto a voi per ubidire,
O padre, o madre, hor con vostra licença,
Di nuovo nel deserto ne vo' gire,
E vo' star quivi a far gran penitença;
Et alle genti poi poterlo dire,
De! non vi para dura la partença.
I' si vorrei vostra beneditione,
Ch' i' me ne vadia a mia consolatione.'

'O figliuol nostro or che parola è questa?
O vuo'ci tu sì tosto abandonare?
O durerà sì pocho questa festa
Che facavan del tuo a noi tornare?
Ella ci par sì dura questa chiesta.
O figliuol nostro vuo'ci tu lasciare?
O figliuol, non ci dar questa fatica.
De! statti qui che Dio ti benedicha.'

'I velo detto ranchor, vel ridicho,
Perche chagion i' fu mandato al mondo,
Perch' i' stessi al deserto ivi mendicho.
E della penitentia son giochondo.
Anchora un altra volta vi 'l ripricho,
Io star soletario nel più fondo
Luogho vi sia; de! siate ne chontenti
Che di Dio facci i sua chomandamenti.

O padre o madre mia, i' vorre bene
Giusto a mie possa farvi ognia piacere,
Pel mie partie havete doglia e pene
Che vegho ne pigliate dispiacere,
E ubidire a Dio pur si conviene.'

Udendo dir parole sì sincere,
Ciaschun di loro sta maravigliato,
E verso di Giovanni hanno parlato:

'Dolce figliuolo, ome! che vita obscura!
Vuo' tu pigliare a starti chosì solo?
Tu farai delle fiere paura.
O! di che viverai, charo figliuolo?
Tu dormirai in su la terra dura.'

Pensi ciaschun se questo sia duolo
D' un sì fatto figliuolo esser privati.
Lo' rimaren pur molto sconsolati.

'Lasciatemene andar dove 'l mie fetto,
A far la volonta del mie Signore.
Se vo' sapessi lo spasso e 'l diletto
Che Dio mi manda quivi a tutte l'ore,
Vo' già si megliaresti benedetto;
Vo' mi vedete quì e là e 'l chore.'
Udendolo parlar chon tal disio:
'Or va che benedetto sie da Dio.'

Allor la madre l' abbracc[i]ava stretto,
Forte piangendo dicea: 'Dolce amore,
Tu se' pur d'anni molto teneretto,
Ma pochè piace al nostro gran Signore,
I' so ben che dal Lui se' benedetto,
E io ti benedicho di bon chore.'
E 'l padre Zacheria piange e sospira,
Compiato pochi drieto al figliuol mira.

Giovanni prese da ciaschun chomiato,
Verso 'l deserto suo chamin ripiglia.
E padre e madre e molto adolorato,
Rimason quivi chon dolente ciglia,
E volentier l' arieno acompagniato,
Andar volieno cho tutta lor famiglia.
Giovanni che di questo se a veduto
Partissi presto e nessuno a voluto.

E giunto nel deserto sì soletto,
Quivi ringratia molto il suo Signore:
'I' mi starò pur qui sança sospetto,
Chon queste fiere che mi fanno honore.
Elle sono el mie spasso e 'l mie diletto.
Elle sono qui cho mecho a tutte l'ore;
Orsi con lupi, serpenti e 'l lioni,
Serpe, ramarri, schorçoni e scharpioni.'

Giovanni stava con tutte le fiere
Chome se fussino human creature.
Quando mangiava stavan a vedere,
E chosì insieme son fatte sichure,
Non si facevon nessun dispiacere.
Stan con amore chome pechore pure.
Queste son padre e madre e suo figliuoli;
E non stavan l'un pell' altro soli.

In tal maniera chome voi udite,
Stava Giovanni e gran tempo passae.
Avendo le suo guance scholorite
Delle vivande che quivi gustae.
Soletto chol suo chor benigno e mite,
Gran parte di sua vita consumae,
Fermo e chostante in molta patie[n]ça,
In quel deserto chon gran penitença.

RIEMENSCHNEIDER AS A GOLDSMITH'S MODEL MAKER

JUSTUS BIER*

THE use made by goldsmiths of models carved by sculptors is an interesting problem of workshop practice. It will be discussed here with the specific purpose of showing new evidence that Tilmann Riemenschneider made such models and that goldsmith's statuettes derived from his models are still extant.

Carved models were provided by Riemenschneider for his own assistants and for other craftsmen. It is known, for instance, that Riemenschneider provided a model for a foundry in which guns were cast. In the accounts of the City of Würzburg, entries are preserved indicating that Riemenschneider received two guilders for carving in linden the form of a culverin which a turner had prepared for him.¹

And it has been known for some time, too, that he prepared models for goldsmiths. From the minutes of the meetings of the Würzburg Cathedral we learn that he prepared such a model ("muster") for a bust of *St. Burkhard*, the first bishop of Würzburg.² This model was sent to a Nuremberg goldsmith, Paulus Müllner. That Müllner considered the face too childish and offered to give the head of *St. Burkhard* a better shape³ indicates merely a clash between the taste of Nuremberg, which inclined toward a dignified but often pedestrian realism, evident in the silver statuette of *St. Bartholomew*, dated 1509, which Hampe cogently attributed to Müllner (Fig. 1),⁴ and the taste of Würzburg, as exemplified in Riemenschneider's bust of *St. Burkhard* in the National Gallery in Washington with its still mediaeval idealism, which subdues and transforms realistic elements for the sake of spiritual expression (Fig. 2). This bust may have been the model refused by Müllner. (See Appendix 2 below.)

The practice of having wooden models carved for the goldsmith's guidance seems to have been a general one.⁵ A famous example of a wooden model which served this purpose is the statuette of a *Virgin with the Christ Child* which passed from Stainz (near Graz) in Styria to a Viennese private collection (Fig. 3). It has been ascribed to Friedrich Schramm of Ravensburg,⁶ and more recently to the father and supposed teacher of Gregor Erhart, Michel Erhart of Ulm.⁷ As Kies-

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1. Cf. J. Bier, *Tilmann Riemenschneider Die reifen Werke*, Augsburg, 1930 (hereafter quoted as "Bier, *op.cit.* 1930"), p. 190, no. 112a: "... für ein lyndein holz zu einer büchsen-forme Caspar, drechszlern" (*Stadtbaurechnung*, June 30, 1504); no. 112b: "Item 2 gulden geben Dylmann Rymenschneider dem bildschnitzer, von einen form zu schneyden zu einer schlangenbüchsen" (*Steuerrechnung*, July 9, 1504).

2. Cf. Appendix, 1.

3. Cf. Appendix, 2.

4. Cf. Theodor Hampe, "Der Nürnberger Goldschmied

Paulus Müllner als Meister des silbernen Bartholomäus von Wöhrd," *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums*, 1928/29, p. 86; art. "Müllner, Paul" in Thieme-Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, xxv, 1931, p. 250. The statuette, made for the Church of St. Bartholomew at Wöhrd, a small community outside the Nuremberg city gates, has been on loan to the Germanic National Museum at Nuremberg since 1923.

5. Cf. Theodor Müller in Otto Schmitt, *Reallexikon zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, II, Stuttgart-Waldsee, 1948, p. 603.

6. Cf. Franz Kieslinger, "Ein spätgotisches Goldschmiedemodell," *Pantheon*, vi, 1930, p. 390. We are indebted to Dr. Franz Kieslinger for the photograph of this model. For Schramm as the supposed master of the *Madonna with the Protective Mantle* from Ravensburg in the Berlin Museum cf. Theodor Demmler, *Die Bildwerke in Holz, Stein und Ton, Grossplastik (Die Bildwerke des Deutschen Museums)*, III, Berlin and Leipzig, 1930, pp. 20f., no. 421.

7. Cf. Gertrud Otto, "Der Bildhauer Michel Erhart," *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, LIV, 1943, p. 24, and Otto, *Gregor Erhart (Denkmäler Deutscher Kunst)*, Berlin, 1943, p. 21 and fig. 2. Otto in these publications

linger has shown,⁸ the statuette from Stainz served as the model for a still existing statuette in silver gilt (Fig. 4) which was made in 1482 on order of the Abbot of Kaisheim, Hanns Fisches, for his church. Probably after the closing of the monastery in 1802, this statuette came into the Königliche Kunstkammer in Berlin, and finally to the collections of the State Museums there.⁹ It was the work of the Augsburg goldsmith Hainrich Huofnagel, as is evident from a lengthy inscription.¹⁰ Huofnagel's statuette differs in size by only one or two millimeters from the model, which is 365 mm in height.¹¹

Another wooden model, which is preserved together with the executed goldsmith's work is the model for a monstrance made in 1469-1472 for the parish church at Waidhofen an der Ybbs in Lower Austria.¹² This silver monstrance (Fig. 5) was ordered by the cutlers' guild of Waidhofen (then in the diocese of Freising in Oberbayern) from Master Sixt Schmuttermeyer in Freising, as is evident from an inscription.¹³ It is still in the possession of the church for which it was made. It is about one-fifth smaller than the wooden model (Fig. 6),¹⁴ which is in use as a monstrance, too, in the Cathedral of Freising, the city where the silver monstrance was made.¹⁵ The copy in

ascribed to Michel Erhart the whole body of works she had assembled under the name Friedrich Schramm in her earlier articles. "Frühwerke Friedrich Schramms," *Berliner Museen*, LI 1930, pp. 77f., and "Zum Werke Friedrich Schramms," *Berliner Museen*, LIV, 1933, pp. 33-36. Erwin Heinze, "Die Erbärnde-Gruppe in Tosters bei Feldkirch," *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege*, VII, 1935, pp. 15-25, restores the Madonna from Ravensburg to Friedrich Schramm, following Hans Rott, *Quellen und Forschungen zur südwestdeutschen und schweizerischen Kunstgeschichte im XV. und XVI. Jahrhundert*, I: Bodenseegebiet, *Quellen*, Stuttgart, 1933, pp. 148f. and 179.

8. In *Pantheon*, VI, 1930, pp. 389f.

9. Cf. Marc Rosenberg, *Der Goldschmiede Merkzeichen*, Frankfurt am Main, 1890, p. 6, no. 22; 3rd ed., I, Frankfurt am Main, 1922, p. 24, no. 113; Georg Dehio and Gustav v. Bezold, *Die Denkmäler der Deutschen Kunst*, Berlin, 1905ff., section "15. Jahrhundert," pl. 22, no. 4; Wilhelm Vöge, *Die Deutschen Bildwerke . . .* (Königliche Museen zu Berlin *Beschreibung der Bildwerke der Christlichen Epochen*, 2nd ed.), Berlin, 1910, p. 57, no. 111; E. F. Bange, *Die Bildwerke in Bronze und in anderen Metallen . . .* (*Die Bildwerke des Deutschen Museums*, II), Berlin and Leipzig, 1923, pp. 15f., no. 773. Adam Horn in *Die Kunstdenkmäler von Bayern* (VII) *Reg. Bez. Schwaben*, III *Landkreis Donauwörth*, Munich, 1951, although listing other works of art which have disappeared, missed this statuette. He lists on pp. 332 and 651 the silver statuettes of 1493 and 1497 which came from Kaisheim to an English private collection (Sir Julius Wernher, Bt.). Cf. for these: Burlington Fine Arts Club, London, *Exhibition of Early German Art*, London, 1906, pls. XLIV and XLV.

10. The part of the inscription giving the name of the artist is well hidden. Behind a green glass window on the back of the base of the statuette appears the cover of a relic box with an inscription referring to the donor of the statuette: "Anno d[omi]ni MCCCCLXXXII iar hat her Hanns Fisches von gotes verhengnus abtt zu Kaisheim das marie[n]bild lassen machen gott und seiner lieben mvter der rainen keische[n] zarten iunckfraven marien zu^o lob und er lassen mache[n]." (In the year of the Lord, 1482, Herr Hanns Fisches, by divine sanction abbot at Kaisheim, had the statue of Mary made in praise of God and His beloved mother, the pure, chaste, tender Virgin Mary.) If the relic box is removed and opened, another inscription appears on the back of the cover, giving in this modestly hidden place the artist's name: "1482 hat maister Hainrich Huofnagel, goldschmid von Augspurg, das marienbild gemacht. Ave Maria, mein hertzallerliebstan iunckfra, bit dein liebes kindlin vir mich. Amen." (In 1482 Master Hainrich Huofnagel, goldsmith of Augsburg, has made the statue of Mary. Ave Maria, Virgin most beloved in my heart, beseech

your beloved little child for me. Amen.) Both inscriptions are reproduced by Vöge, *loc.cit.*, and Bange, *loc.cit.*, the second also by Rosenberg, *loc.cit.*, 1922, but they have not previously been transcribed.

11. According to Kieslinger, *loc.cit.* Bange, *loc.cit.* gives 54 cm as the total height of the Huofnagel statuette including the high base.

12. *Ausstellung kirchliche Kunstschatze aus Bayern, Katalog*, Residenzmuseum Munich, Juni bis September, 1930, nos. 78 and 79, with fig. 37. (The model is not illustrated.) Cf. also Adolf Feulner, "Kirchliche Kunstschatze aus Bayern," *Pantheon*, VI, 1930, p. 378. We reproduce the silver monstrance after a photograph of the Bayerisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege in Munich.

13. Cf. Thieme-Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, XXX, Leipzig, 1936, p. 180, art. "Schmuttermair, Sixt." Another goldsmith with the same family name, Hans Schmuttermair, became master in Nuremberg in 1488. Cf. Th. Hampe, *Nürnberger Ratsverlässe . . .* (*Quellenschriften für Kunstgeschichte*, Neue Folge 11/13), Vienna, 1904, I, no. 626. According to C. A. Gebert in *Anzeiger für Kunde der deutschen Vorzeit*, 1882, col. 43f., he is identical with Hanns Schmuttermayer, author of the *Fialenbüchlein*, the first treatise on architectural elements illustrated by engravings, published in Nuremberg between 1484 and 1489, of which a fragment is preserved in the library of the Germanic National Museum (No. 36 045). Thieme-Becker, *loc.cit.*, art. "Schmuttermayer, Hanns" lists him only as architect (with a question mark).

14. The height of the silver monstrance is 103 cm.—"10,3 cm" in the catalogue of the exhibition of 1930 is a misprint. The height of the model is 125 cm.

15. According to Hermann A. Müller and Oscar Mothes, *Illustriertes Archäologisches Wörterbuch*, II, Leipzig and Berlin, 1878, p. 683, monstrances made of wood are likely to be only models, since wood is forbidden. Yet Joseph Braun, *Das Christliche Altargerät in seinem Sein und in seiner Entwicklung*, Munich, 1932, p. 357, states that no regulations regarding the material of monstrances were issued in mediaeval times, and that also in later times regulations were only of regional ("partikularrechtlich") character. Braun, *op.cit.*, p. 359, mentions the Freising monstrance of gilt wood (which he reproduces as fig. 257 on pl. 69) as competing "in elegance of the construction and refinement of the execution" with monstrances of silver or gilt copper. He had already mentioned the fact that this monstrance was used as model for the monstrance at Waidhofen executed in silver in somewhat smaller size. Our reproduction of the Freising monstrance (Fig. 6) shows a modern wreath of flowers around the pyx, added in a recent restoration and not shown in the reproduction by Braun. For a photograph of the monstrance we are indebted to Dr. Höck, regent of the Erzbischöfliche Klerikalseminar Freising.

silver failed its model only in one point: the spiral shape used in the model for all three spires is copied in the silver monstrance in the lateral spires, but not in the central one which received a more conservative shape. The fact that the statuettes now in the model are of the seventeenth century may indicate loss or replacements of the originals or that it was originally made without any. In the last case the models for the statuettes may have been made separately and larger.

Riemenschneider's services in making a goldsmith's model, although refused in the documented case, can be proved to have been used by a Würzburg goldsmith, for it has been overlooked that a monstrance in the Roman Catholic Parish Church of Bad Mergentheim (Figs. 7-9, 12-13, 17-18), dated 1509, contains five statuettes that reflect unmistakably designs by Riemenschneider.

This monstrance, developed in the soaring and intertwining forms of the Late Gothic style, is one of the finest pieces of the period in architectural invention and execution, although less so in the execution of its statuettes, which succeed primarily through the designs borrowed from Riemenschneider and secondarily through effective interpretation of the motifs of drapery in bold relief. They show, however, the lack of a finer sculptural skill on the part of the goldsmith in the treatment of faces and hands, especially if compared with the Riemenschneider models, although the tiny size of the statuettes should be taken into account.

The material of which this monstrance is made is white silver. The statuettes are partially gilt. The monstrance, which is 95 cm high, has the appearance of a tower with retable-like lateral attachments.¹⁶ The central tabernacle contains in a (modern) glass pyx on a small stand the lunette for the exhibition of the host under which a pair of kneeling angels, each less than 5 cm high, raise their arms in a gesture of adoration. The central tabernacle is flanked by two smaller tabernacles which contain the statuettes of the *Virgin with the Christ Child* and *St. John the Baptist*, each about 8 cm high. Above the center rises a second story with a hexagonal tabernacle containing the slightly larger statuette of the *Man of Sorrows* (not quite 12 cm high).

This Mergentheim monstrance came first to the attention of the art world in the fall of 1911 when it was shown in the exhibition of ecclesiastical art in Stuttgart. It was reproduced in 1912 in Gustav E. Pazaurek's publication of the goldsmiths' works from Swabian church treasures shown in this exhibition.¹⁷ The author's attention was drawn to it in 1952 when an illustration of it appeared in the catalogue of the exhibition *Franconia Sacra*, an exhibition of masterpieces of Franconian ecclesiastical art of the Middle Ages, arranged by the Mainfränkische Museum in Würzburg.¹⁸

As Pazaurek had pointed out, this monstrance has a hallmark, the oldest found on any goldsmith's work in the Stuttgart exhibition. The hallmark is in the shape of a triangle standing on a forked point and enclosing the letter *W*. Pazaurek reasons that this *W* should not be identified with such towns in the state of Württemberg as Waiblingen or Weil-der-Stadt, but with Würzburg, because the region around Mergentheim, only since 1809 a part of Württemberg, belonged to the diocese of Würzburg at the date involved.¹⁹

We can add another observation to confirm Pazaurek's assumption: the unusual shape of the triangle enclosing the letter *W*, standing on its forked point, seems to suggest the two points in

16. Joseph Braun, *op.cit.*, p. 372 (with fig. 256 on pl. 68), classifies the Mergentheim monstrance as "retabelförmig" (retable-shaped) on account of the tripartite form which resembles the appearance of a retable with center part and wings. He lists the Mergentheim monstrance among "the richest, most noble and best articulated Gothic monstrances" of this type.

17. Cf. Gustav E. Pazaurek, *Alte Goldschmiedearbeiten aus schwäbischen Kirchenschätzen*, Leipzig, 1912, p. 27 and pl. XVII. Height 95 cm.

18. *Franconia Sacra. Meisterwerke kirchlicher Kunst des Mittelalters in Franken*, Jubiläums-Ausstellung zur 1200-Jahrfeier des Bistums und der Erhebung der Kiliansreliquien, 14.

Juni bis 12. Oktober 1952 im Mainfränkischen Museum Würzburg, Munich (Hirmer Verlag), 1952, p. 70, no. D 44, reproduced on pl. 55. We acknowledge the use of photographs (Figs. 6f.) taken for the Gesellschaft für Wissenschaftliches Lichtbild, Munich, during this exhibition. Figs. 12f. and 17f. were taken for this publication by Herr Leo Gundermann, Würzburg.

19. Cf. Pazaurek, *op.cit.*, p. 7. Pazaurek describes, but unfortunately does not illustrate this hallmark, unknown to Marc Rosenberg, who in: *Der Goldschmiede Merkzeichen*, 3rd ed., III, Frankfurt am Main, 1925, pp. 383ff., describes Würzburg marks from the early 17th century on.

the coat of arms of the Bishop of Würzburg. This coat of arms shows a division between its upper and lower part by means of a zigzag line producing two open triangles pointing downward and flanked by two half-triangles, also open at the top.²⁰

Among the works assembled in the Stuttgart exhibition Pazaurek found another work with the same hallmark, a chalice from the Church of St. Michael in Schwäbisch-Hall, dated 1516.²¹ On the basis of this hallmark, he assumes this chalice also to be a Würzburg work, and, as evidence, he points out that Schwäbisch-Hall was not far from the boundaries of the diocese of Würzburg (then identical with the Dukedom of Franconia). In addition, a dedicatory inscription on the chalice referring to "Kilianus Kempffennagel vicarius ecclesia majoris Herbipolensis" (Kilian Kempffennagel, vicar of the Cathedral at Würzburg) still further strengthens Pazaurek's assumption that the hallmark described is "probably the oldest hallmark of Würzburg." Stylistically there is no close tie between the monstrance and the chalice; the two were apparently made by different Würzburg masters.

It can easily be shown on which sculptures by Riemenschneider the five statuettes in the Mergentheim monstrance of 1509 depend. The silver statuette of the *Man of Sorrows* in the top (Fig. 9)²² is closely related to the linden wood figure of the *Man of Sorrows* in the top of Riemenschneider's Creglingen altarpiece (Fig. 10).²³ Both figures are of the *ostentatio vulnerum* type:²⁴ Christ displays his wounds by touching the wound in his side with his right hand and by bending his left arm upward so that the wound in the center of the palm of his left hand becomes visible—a motif introduced in the 1430's by Hans Multscher in his *Man of Sorrows* at the West portal of the Ulm Cathedral.²⁵ The wound made by the lance is shown in the same way at the *Man of Sorrows* on the top of Riemenschneider's *Altarpiece of the Holy Blood* in St. James' in Rothenburg ob der Tauber (Fig. 11),²⁶ but the showing of the wound in the palm of the left hand differs in so far as the left arm of this figure is hanging down, although the palm is still turned toward the beholder. This motif may have been suggested by figures of Christ standing in his tomb.²⁷

The silver statuette (Fig. 9) and the Creglingen figure (Fig. 10) also show the same stance: the right leg carries the weight of the body whereas the left foot touches the ground only with its toes. In contrast with the late fifteenth century type of the *Man of Sorrows* with its characteristic stance, one leg in front of the other, an arrested stance is chosen with both legs appearing in the same plane.²⁸ The Rothenburg figure with its left foot set forward (Fig. 11) still represents the older type, although the thighs already appear side by side. The position of one leg in front of

20. Cf. this coat of arms in engravings in the *Breviarium Herbipolense*, printed by Georg Rayser in Würzburg in 1479 and 1482 (rep. in Albert Schramm, *Der Bilderschmuck der Frühdrucke*, xvi, Leipzig, 1933, pl. 106), or on the monuments of the bishops Rudolf von Scherenberg (d. 1495) and Lorenz von Bibra (d. 1519) (rep. in J. Bier, *Tilmann Riemenschneider, Ein Gedenkbuch*, 6. Auflage, Vienna, 1948—hereafter quoted as "Bier, *op.cit.* 1948"—pls. 22 and 103, upper left), the Scherenberg monument also in: ART BULLETIN, XXIX (1947), fig. 21 opp. p. 103.

21. Cf. Pazaurek, *op.cit.*, pp. 7, 30 and pl. xxvii, 1; Eugen Gradmann, *Die Kunst- und Altertums-Denkmale im K. Württemberg, Jagstkreis*, Erste Hälfte, Esslingen a. N., 1907, pp. 507f. lists and illustrates this chalice, but without listing or reproducing its hallmark.

22. Described correctly by Pazaurek, *op.cit.*, p. 27. In *Franconia Sacra*, p. 70, erroneously listed as a statuette of St. Sebastian. The statuette is visible only in the illustration of Pazaurek, *op.cit.*, pl. xvii, from which our Fig. 9 was reproduced. Pazaurek shows the monstrance from an angle slightly different from the illustration in *Franconia Sacra*, pl. 55.

23. Cf. J. Bier, *op.cit.*, 1930, pp. 56-86, especially pp. 58,

74; J. Bier, *op.cit.*, 1948, pl. 58. Our Fig. 10 after photograph by Georg Schaffert, Creglingen.

24. Cf. Erwin Panofsky, "Imago Pietatis," Ein Beitrag zur Typengeschichte des 'Schmerzensmanns' und der 'Maria Mediatrice,' *Festschrift für Max J. Friedländer zum 60. Geburtstage*, Leipzig, 1927, pp. 261-308 (especially pp. 283-292); Gert von der Osten, *Der Schmerzensmann, Typengeschichte eines Deutschen Andachtsbildwerkes von 1300 bis 1600* (*Forschungen zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, vii), Berlin, 1935, pp. 74-114.

25. Cf. G. von der Osten, *op.cit.*, pp. 100f. with fig. 114.

26. Cf. G. von der Osten, *op.cit.*, p. 91 with figs. 98 and 99 on pls. XLIXf.; Bier, *op.cit.* 1930, pp. 12, 21, 40f. with reproductions on pp. 40f. In the contract, *ibid.*, p. 171, no. 61, the figure is described as "ain bild der barmherzigkait," the exact German equivalent of the Latin term *imago pietatis*. Our Fig. 11 after photograph by Alfred Ohmayer, Rothenburg o. d. T.

27. On the development of this motif cf. G. von der Osten, *op.cit.*, pp. 88f. For its connection with the ancient gesture of libation cf. Panofsky, *op.cit.*, p. 294 and n. 108.

28. G. von der Osten, *op.cit.*, p. 113. considers this stance as characteristic of the beginning of the Renaissance.

the other had been chosen by Riemenschneider himself in his early Christ as Gardener in a relief which comes from the Münnerstadt altarpiece of 1490-1492.²⁹

Both the silver statuette (Fig. 9) and the Creglingen figure (Fig. 10) are clad in the loin cloth only, which is looped in exactly the same way, its shorter inward end hanging down between the legs, its longer outward end being drawn out at Christ's left hip and falling straight down without the free play which is usual (e.g., in the fluttering ends of the loin cloth of the Rothenburg *Man of Sorrows*, Fig. 11). Both the silver statuette and the Creglingen figure are without the crown of thorns, again differing from the crowned Rothenburg figure.

Only in the more sharply pronounced anatomical articulation does the silver statuette (Fig. 9) seem closer to Riemenschneider's Rothenburg *Man of Sorrows* than to the Creglingen figure (Fig. 10) from his workshop, which seems flabby by comparison, although it agrees in its general anatomy. The Creglingen figure seems to be entirely by an assistant,³⁰ whereas the Rothenburg work seems to indicate that the master took a hand at least in its expressive head, although the whole figure cannot be pronounced a masterly work.³¹ The Creglingen *Man of Sorrows* evidently goes back to a model by Riemenschneider's hand—either drawn or carved—which also could have served as model for the goldsmith who made the Mergentheim monstrosity. However, since the Creglingen altarpiece fits into Riemenschneider's development between the years 1505 and 1510, the *Man of Sorrows* for Creglingen itself should have been in Riemenschneider's workshop at the very time when the silver statuette for Mergentheim was modeled and cast and may have been the goldsmith's major source.

The silver statuette of *St. John the Baptist* (Figs. 12-13) is derived from an early work by Riemenschneider, the linden wood statue of *St. John the Baptist* in the parish church of Hassfurt (Fig. 14).³² This work, one of Riemenschneider's finest works of this period, had served as model for an assistant who carved the figure of *St. John the Baptist* in the top part of Riemenschneider's fully documented Münnerstadt altarpiece, completed in 1492.³³ The Hassfurt statue also served for coarse replicas, for instance the statues of *St. John the Baptist* in the Abbey church at Schönau³⁴ and in the Grossenberg Chapel in Mellrichstadt (Fig. 16)³⁵—the latter using the same stance

29. Reproduced in Bier, *Tilman Riemenschneider Die frühen Werke*, Würzburg, 1925 (hereafter quoted as "Bier, *op.cit.*, 1925"), pls. 8 and 12, Bier *op.cit.* 1948, pl. 6.

30. Cf. Bier, *op.cit.* 1930, p. 74.

31. Cf. Bier, *op.cit.* 1930, pp. 40ff.

32. Hans Karlinger, *Kunstdenkmäler d. K. Bayern*, III, Heft IV *Bez. Amt Hassfurt*, Munich, 1912, p. 50 and pl. 1; J. Bier, *op.cit.* 1925, pp. 54f., pls. 20f.; J. Bier, *op.cit.* 1948, p. 29, pls. 2f. The statue, 1.80 m high, is of linden wood and today is unpainted. Georg Lill maintained, in *Die Christliche Kunst*, XXXIII (1936-37), p. 192, that the surface treatment of the statue indicates that it was never intended to be painted, which is more or less true of all sculpture by Riemenschneider. Riemenschneider never gave the usual coat of paint to his sculptures himself and, although this may have been because of Würzburg guild restrictions, he evidently believed in the value of sculpture *per se*, as Veit Stoss did in forbidding any future painting of the altarpiece, which is now in Oberpfarrkirche, Bamberg. (Cf. Reinhold Schaffer, "Zur Frage der Bemalung von Schnitzwerken," *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg*, XXVIII, 1928, p. 358.) Yet Lill is in error when he states that there is no basis for the assumption that the figure was ever painted even in later times. According to information received from Dr. Eugen Kainz, Domkapitular in Würzburg, a thick coat of paint was removed from the Hassfurt *John the Baptist* in Würzburg in 1889. According to Hubert Schrade, *Tilman Riemenschneider*, Heidelberg, 1927, n. 181, there are still vestiges of gilt in the hair of the Baptist. Our Fig. 14 after photograph by Leo Gundermann, Würzburg.

33. Cf. J. Bier, *op.cit.* 1925, pp. 53f., pl. 22. The coat

of paint on the figure recently has been removed.

34. According to Adolf Feulner in *Kunstdenkmäler von Bayern*, III, Heft XX *Bez. Amt Gemünden*, Munich, 1920, pp. 136 and 161 with pls. v f., this statue and the accompanying Virgin with the Christ Child and St. John Ev. are "notable works of the workshop of Tilman Riemenschneider." Feulner considered the evaluation of A. Weber, *Til Riemenschneider Sein Leben und Wirken*, Regensburg, 1911, p. 152, unreasonable. Weber thought these statues "too inferior" to be regarded even as products of the workshop. They had been attributed to Riemenschneider by Carl Streit, *Tilman Riemenschneider*, Berlin, 1888, p. 27. Before these statues can be properly evaluated, their ghastly modern coats of paint must be removed.

35. Photograph: courtesy of Bayerisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege in Munich. The statue, 1.15 m high, was first published by Karl Gröber in *Kunstdenkmäler von Bayern*, III, Heft XXI *Bez. Amt Mellrichstadt*, Munich, 1921, p. 75 and fig. 55. Gröber noted its dependence on Riemenschneider's Hassfurt figure, "much coarsened" in the replica. Far from Riemenschneider's immediate geographical sphere of influence, as part of the altarpiece on the high altar of the parish church at Oberndorf (O. A. Herrenberg, Württemberg), there is to be found a *St. John the Baptist* which is "a free copy of the Baptist in Hassfurt," as was first recognized by Luise Böhling, *Die spätgotische Plastik im Württembergischen Neckargebiet*, Reutlingen, 1932, p. 218 (with reproduction). This statue is not a workshop copy, but a copy by a former pupil or assistant of Riemenschneider. Gröber, *op.cit.*, pp. 76 and 94, called attention to an archaic copy of the Mellrichstadt replica by a 17th century sculptor.

as the silver statuette (Fig. 12), both feet set apart rather than one foot in front of the other. Also dependent on the Hassfurt figure (Fig. 14) is the figure in the Gerolzhofen altarpiece (Fig. 15) which is much finer, but must also be considered as the work of an assistant.³⁶ The Gerolzhofen altarpiece must be of about 1513 since one of its reliefs borrows from a Dürer woodcut of 1511 and another one from a Lucas van Leyden engraving which can be dated 1512 or 1513.³⁷ It is typical of this latter date that the *St. John* in it now gives a calm and flatter arrangement to the motif of the Hassfurt figure, which still had spatial force in the stance of the figure and in the exploitation of the drawn-up mantle cloth for diagonal thrust.

The replicas of the Hassfurt *St. John the Baptist* may have been derived from a drawing of the composition of that figure or—and this is more probable—from a smaller model, now lost, carved by the master and retained in the workshop. That such models from Riemenschneider's own hand existed is made clear in the case of a composition for a statue of *St. Sebastian* from which the model and nine workshop replicas are still extant.³⁸ Characteristically the model by Riemenschneider's hand is smaller than any of the nine copies.³⁹

Surprisingly enough, the actual model for the silver statuette of the *Virgin with the Christ Child* in the Mergentheim monstrance is still in existence. It is a statuette formerly in the Albert Ullmann collection in Frankfurt am Main and now in a private collection in Zürich (Figs. 19-21).⁴⁰ This relatively small model (60 cm high)⁴¹ is made from linden wood,⁴² which was Riemenschneider's favored material. The model is carved together with a base drawn inward underneath, like the base of the silver statuette (Fig. 17), which is standing on the capital-like top of a pillared pedestal. The wooden model, being a small figure, could be carved from a thoroughly dry outer section of a tree trunk. It is therefore without the usual hollowing-out of the back, found regularly in larger figures where the moist heart wood had to be removed. Although carved full-round, the back of the model (Fig. 20) is somewhat flattened and barely suggests the rich, deep relief of folds of the back of the silver statuette (Fig. 19) which is likewise cast with a somewhat flattened back.

The goldsmith, in using this wooden model, made only two slight changes (in addition to the greater elaboration he gave the back): he turned the head of the Christ Child into a strictly frontal view, and he eliminated the veil which falls from Mary's head, the fluttering end being touched by

36. Height 1.06 m. Our reproduction after photograph by Leo Gundermann, Würzburg. The altarpiece comes from the Chapel of St. John the Baptist in the Cemetery of Gerolzhofen. In 1882 the statue of *St. John the Baptist*, together with other parts of the altarpiece, was bought by Ökonomierat Streit in Bad Kissingen, the biographer of Tilman Riemenschneider, from the City of Gerolzhofen, which had assumed ownership of the chapel and its contents. In 1890 the statue was acquired with Streit's collection by the Bavarian National Museum in Munich. Cf. J. Bier, "Two Stone Reliefs from Riemenschneider's Workshop in Minneapolis," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, series VI, XLIII, 1954, pp. 165-178.

37. *ibid.*, and J. Bier, "Riemenschneider's Use of Graphic Sources," forthcoming in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*.

38. Cf. J. Bier, "Ein unbekannter Sebastian von Tilman Riemenschneider," *Pantheon*, IX, 1936, pp. 151ff., J. Bier, *op.cit.* 1948, p. 34, no. 82, and J. Bier, [etc.] *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, Series III, V 1954.

39. The model is 72.5 cm in height, the copies vary from 80 cm to 140 cm in height.

40. Cf. Fr. Lübbecke, "Die Sammlung Ullmann zu Frankfurt am Main, I. Mittelalterliche Plastik," *Cicerone*, VIII, 1916, pp. 384f. (with fig. 2 on p. 380). On the back is a punched inscription (Fig. 22) with an unreadable word in 7 mm high gothic majuscules which Lübbecke read as "maria" and two letters below in the same type, but 10 mm high which Lübbecke read as "r. w."—although they look like "r. m."—and explained to be abbreviations for "Riemenschneider—Würzburg." H. Wilm, *Die gotische Holzfigur, ihr Wesen und ihre Technik*, Leipzig, 1923, p. 152 and with fig. 43, accepted this

explanation with a question-mark. According to H. Schrade, *op.cit.*, note 30, that inscription is a later addition, possibly by a dealer. Schrade rightly emphasizes that the curious combination should in itself put one on guard. The author saw a cast of the head of this statuette in Würzburg in the collection of Markert, Jr., who informed him that in the 1890's the statuette was owned by Stöber, a tool maker ("Instrumentenmacher") in the same city. This tool maker could have added the punched letters on the back. For information about the present whereabouts of this figure, rubbings of the inscription, and photographs, I am indebted to Dr. Arthur Kauffmann of London.

41. The height is given by Lübbecke, *loc.cit.*, as 60 cm in the text, and as 68 cm—evidently a misprint—under the illustration. H. Schrade, *op.cit.*, note 402, 7, also gives the height as 60 cm. The catalogue *Riemenschneider Gedächtnis-Ausstellung 1931 des Museums für Kunst und Landesgeschichte im Provinzial-Museum Hannover*, p. 14, no. 23, gives it as 59 cm.

42. Cf. Lübbecke, *op.cit.*, p. 380. The wood is described as maple in the Hannover catalogue of 1931. Since this catalogue calls the wood maple in two other cases (nos. 18 and 19) where it is linden, it can be assumed that Lübbecke is correct. Dr. Kauffmann informed me that he shares Lübbecke's opinion. The catalogue of small sculpture in the State Museums of Berlin (E. F. Bange, *Die Bildwerke in Holz, Stein und Ton, Kleinplastik*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1930, pp. 12 and 131) lists only an 18th century sculpture as definitely carved in this wood. H. Wilm, *op.cit.*, p. 40, does not even list maple among the different kinds of wood used for sculpture.

the Christ Child's right hand. He evidently thought the veil too difficult to execute in silver. Otherwise the grouping and movement of the two bodies and the design and particular arrangement of folds in Mary's cloak are identical.

Opinions about the value of the model have differed. Lübbecke, who first published the figure, considered it as a "very good work, probably pretty much by Riemenschneider's own hand."⁴³ Wilm's evaluation as a workshop piece⁴⁴ was repudiated by Schrade, according to whose opinion it is "unconditionally a masterly work."⁴⁵ Habicht too thought the "ravishing" figure to be "without question completely by the master's own hand."⁴⁶ The present author also accepts the figure as a work by Riemenschneider's own hand, though the forms of the face (Fig. 21) are less articulated than in Riemenschneider's larger Madonnas, due to the smaller scale in which this figure is carved. Vestiges of the removed gesso ground underlying a former coat of paint disturb somewhat the expression of the eyes.

Since dates are rare in relation to Riemenschneider's statues of the Virgin and Christ Child, it is good to know that the year 1509 can now be established as the *terminus ante quem* for the Zürich *Virgin*. Most probably the figure was carved in 1508. The establishment of this date, however, will not produce any marked changes in Riemenschneider's chronology since the date 1510 has been assumed for this figure by Lübbecke,⁴⁷ Wilm,⁴⁸ and the cataloguer of the Riemenschneider exhibition of 1931 in the Provinzial-Museum in Hannover.⁴⁹ Lübbecke had already realized the close relationship of this *Virgin* to the composition of the *Virgin and Child* of the Gerolzhofen altarpiece (Fig. 16) which is only four or five years later.

This *Virgin* is a characteristic example of the later type of Riemenschneider's representations of the Virgin and Child. This later type is much more static in concept than the earlier representations which show rich movement, particularly in the Christ Child, who turns and twists instead of sitting up like the well-behaved Child of the Gerolzhofen *Virgin*, carved about 1513 (Fig. 16).⁵⁰ If the Child of the model (Fig. 19) is compared with the Child of the Gerolzhofen *Virgin*, it will be evident that there is still more movement in his little body than in the Gerolzhofen Child, who sits straighter, only his left leg retaining some of the former action. The more unruly, lively movement of the child of the model seems to fit the model's somewhat earlier date. The model may well have been the first formulation of this compositional idea, which dominates throughout Riemenschneider's later representations of the Virgin with the Christ Child.

In actual style the model is close to the Creglingen altarpiece which was in process in Riemenschneider's workshop in the same years:⁵¹ the Mary of the *Assumption* in the center part and the small figure of Mary in the *Adoration of the Magi* in the predella are both close relatives of the Virgin of the model as is the Mary of the Annunciation relief, of which the facial features, hands and treatment of dress should be compared.⁵² The peculiar combination of quiet, withdrawn concentration with spirited lively action will be observed in the Creglingen altarpiece as well as in the model, there in the contrast of the Virgin and the angels, here in the contrast between the Virgin and the Christ Child. Such a turbulent whirl as is found in Mary's veil in the model seems to repeat the turbulent circling movement in the angel who appears on the lower left of Mary in the *Assumption*. There are also close technical affinities in the use of borders enriched by mounted

43. Lübbecke, *op.cit.*, p. 384.

44. Wilm, *op.cit.*, p. 152.

45. Schrade, *op.cit.*, note 402, 7.

46. V. C. Habicht, in his review of the Riemenschneider exhibition in Hannover in: *Weltkunst*, v, 1931, no. 15, p. 11.

47. *loc.cit.* Schrade, *loc.cit.*, thought this date "probably too late" without advancing a date of his own. Habicht, *loc.cit.*, dated the model in the early 1490's.

48. *loc.cit.*

49. Cf. Cat. *Riemenschneider Gedächtnis-Ausstellung 1931*, etc., no. 23.

50. Cf. J. Bier, "A Virgin with the Christchild by Tilman

Riemenschneider," *Register of the Museum of the University of Kansas*, Lawrence, Kansas, nos. 2 and 3, June and September 1952, pp. 3-7. On p. 4 col. 2 of this article, there should be inserted after "Nicolaus Gerhaert von Leyden" the clause "whose art influenced greatly both Riemenschneider and Gregor Erhart." For the date of the Gerolzhofen *Virgin*, which is 1.14 m high, cf. above note 37.

51. Cf. J. Bier, *op.cit.* 1930, pp. 56-86, pls. 90-102.

52. *ibid.*, and J. Bier, *op.cit.*, 1948, pls. 59f., 69f. Cf also in *ART BULLETIN*, XXIX, 1947, figs. 22f. opp. p. 103, and XXXIII, 1951, fig. 12 after p. 228.

gems, so frequently used at the Creglingen altarpiece, and repeated in the borders of the garments—and on the crown—of the model figure.

The pair of kneeling angels in the central glass pyx of the Mergentheim monstrance (Fig. 8), raising their hands in adoration towards the host exhibited in the lunette just above them, are adaptations of the pair of angels holding the coat-of-arms of the bishopric of Würzburg and the dukedom of Franconia on the Monument of Prince Bishop Rudolf von Scherenberg in the Würzburg Cathedral, completed in 1499.⁵³ The facial types, the movement of the bodies, even the wing shapes, correspond with these Riemenschneider figures. Indeed, the cast silver figures in their expressive movement seem closer to Riemenschneider's own work than the awkward pair of angels—made by a rather mediocre assistant of Riemenschneider—hovering over Mary in the *Coronation* scene of the Creglingen altarpiece (Fig. 23).⁵⁴ The cast silver figures are more similar to the pair of angels flanking the cross with the relic of the Holy Blood on top of the *Altarpiece of the Holy Blood* in Rothenburg ob der Tauber (Fig. 24).⁵⁵ These last are the work of an assistant, too, but closer to the master's types as they are most perfectly rendered by his own hand in the pair of angels with column and cross in the foot of the *Altarpiece of the Holy Blood*⁵⁶ or in the angels in the *Assumption* scene of the Creglingen altarpiece.⁵⁷

Was there a carved model, one may ask, for the whole monstrance by the hand of Tilmann Riemenschneider of a similar kind as the model for the Waidhofen monstrance preserved in the Cathedral of Freising (Fig. 6) that we discussed above? Detailed comparisons fail to reveal convincing grounds for believing so. Therefore it seems safe to assume that the goldsmith who produced the monstrance created its architecture from his own design rather than from an architectural model by Riemenschneider, although he may have been influenced to some extent by forms used or developed in Riemenschneider's workshop.

One further question may be raised here, even if only a tentative answer can be provided: Who was the Würzburg goldsmith who created the Mergentheim monstrance using Riemenschneider's models?

Some evidence on the point is suggested by Riemenschneider's family connections. Riemenschneider's first marriage, as has long been known, was to Anna Schmidt, née Uchenhofer, the widow of the Würzburg goldsmith Ewalt Schmidt.⁵⁸ Ewalt Schmidt, who died May 17, 1484,⁵⁹ had two brothers, Enndres and Hans Schmidt, who were also goldsmiths and served as guardians for Riemenschneider's three stepsons, Jörg, Hans (the Younger), and Claus, sons of Ewalt Schmidt and Anna Uchenhofer.⁶⁰

Of these three stepsons, Jörg Schmidt died early.⁶¹ Another, Hanns Schmidt the Younger,

53. Reproduced in J. Bier, *op.cit.* 1948, pls. 22, 24-25. Cf. also ART BULLETIN, XXIX, 1947, fig. 21 opp. p. 103.

54. Our Fig. 23 after photograph by Dr. F. Stoedtner, Düsseldorf. Reproduced in J. Bier, *op.cit.* 1930, p. 74.

55. *ibid.*, p. 38 and pl. 84. Our Fig. 24 after photograph by Leo Gundermann, Würzburg.

56. *ibid.*, pl. 85 and J. Bier, *op.cit.* 1948, pl. 39.

57. Reproduced in J. Bier, *op.cit.* 1930, pls. 91 and 97, and J. Bier, *op.cit.*, 1948, pls. 59 and 61, and in ART BULLETIN, XXIX, 1947, fig. 22 opp. p. 103.

58. Cf. the *Ertheilungsvertrag* of 1495, *Urkunde* 221 in the archives of Historischer Verein für Unterfranken und Aschaffenburg (deposited in the Bavarian State Archives in Würzburg). This contract concerning the division of estate between Tilmann Riemenschneider, his stepsons and his daughter, after the death of his first wife, Anna Uchenhofer, "die hievore weylant Ewalten Schmidt, . . . goltschmidt, . . . gehabt hette" (who had had before [as spouse] Ewalt Schmidt, . . . goldsmith), was first cited by N. Reininger, "Die Archidiacone . . . des Bisthums Würzburg," *Archiv des historischen Vereins von Unterfranken und Aschaffenburg*, XXVIII, 1885, p. 132. Cf. also J. Bier, art. "Riemenschneider, Tilman" in Thieme-Becker, *op.cit.*, XXVIII, 1934, p. 331.

59. He is mentioned as deceased on this day in the protocols of the city council of Würzburg, when a decision was reached to order a monstrance from his brother Hanns, "Ewalt goltschmits seligen bruder." Cf. Würzburg, Municipal Archives, Protocols of the City Council, vol. VI ("Ratsbuch 1483-1496"), fol. 47v: "LXXXIII^o (i.e. 1484). Actum am montag post Cantate. Monstranz zu machen. Eynmutiglichen on Cristof von Mannheim beslossen, das man die monstranzen, so mann von neuem vor hat zu machen, Hannsen, Ewalt goltschmits seligen bruder andingen solle, doch sol Jörg Ziechlin ein fsirung machen, der sie sich erbotten haben zierlichen zu machen." ([14]84. Enacted on Monday after Cantate [i.e. May 14, 1484]. To make the monstrance. Decided unanimously, without Cristof von Mannheim, that the monstrance, which must be made new, is to be commissioned from Hanns, brother of the late Ewalt, goldsmith; yet Jörg Ziechlin is to make a design; which they have offered to make elegantly.) About Ziechlin cf. K. Zülch, *Frankfurter Künstler, 1223-1700*, Frankfurt a. M., 1935, p. 221.

60. Cf. *Ertheilungsvertrag* of 1495.

61. In a note added in June 1513 to the *Ertheilungsvertrag* of 1495, only "Hanns and Clauss, goltschmid" are listed. Therefore Jörg, who in 1495 was a minor like his brothers,

became a cleric.⁶² The third one, Claus Schmidt, became a goldsmith like his father, Ewalt Schmidt, and his uncles and guardians, Enndres and Hans Schmidt.⁶³ Claus Schmidt became a master goldsmith in 1508 after he had married and acquired citizenship⁶⁴—always a condition for acceptance as master in a guild. Could Claus Schmidt, who is documented also in 1513 and 1514,⁶⁵ be the creator of the Mergentheim monstrosity of 1509? And could his stepfather Tilmann Riemenschneider have supplied him with models for what—if it was his work—must have been a commission of great importance for a young master? To answer these questions definitely is not possible today, but a closer study of Würzburg archives in regard to goldsmiths and their commissions may provide new clues for what so far is not more than a working hypothesis.

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must have died between 1495 and 1513. Cf. also J. Bier, art. "Riemenschneider, Georg," in Thieme-Becker, *op.cit.*, XXVIII, 1934, p. 329.

62. Cf. Bier in art. "Riemenschneider, Hans" in Thieme-Becker, *op.cit.*, XXVIII, 1934, p. 330. Hans Schmidt the Younger has been considered as a goldsmith by G. H. Lockner (as reported by Leo Bruhns, *Würzburger Bildhauer der Renaissance und des werdenden Barock 1540-1650*, Munich, 1923, p. 487 n. 25) and Max H. von Freeden, *Tilman Riemenschneider*, Munich and Berlin, 1954, p. 14. To confute their assumption, the following lengthy excursus is necessary which introduces new evidence from City Council Protocols consulted in the original by the author. Lockner's and von Freeden's assumption is evidently based on the note of June 1513 (cf. above, note 61). Yet the designation "goltschmid" (goldsmith) added in this note to the name of Claus who since 1508 was a master goldsmith, does not necessarily refer to both brothers. The reason why we have to assume that Hans became a cleric lies in two applications for benefices that have to be connected with him. On February 10, 1516, when the City Council of Würzburg had a benefice to grant, Tilmann Riemenschneider and two other councilors, the former burgo-masters Georg Gansshorn and Conrad Ochsner, "haben gebetten . . . ir yeder in sonderheyt seinen sone mit solchem lehen zu versehen," each one of them separately requested to have his son provided with such benefice. (Cf. Würzburg, Municipal Archives. Protocols of the City Council, VIII ["Ratsbuch 1510-1517"], fol. 186v.) In order to perform the duties connected with this particular benefice, completion of the twenty-fifth year of life must have been a requirement since the benefice belonged to the vicarage of the City Council's chapel in the *Grafeneckhart*—as the tower-like town hall building was called—vacated by the death of "herre Georg Woltz seylicher, der pfarrer oder vicarius zum Grafeneckhart gewest" (the late Sir Georg Woltz, who has been parson or vicarius of the *Grafeneckhart*). The son, in whose behalf Tilmann Riemenschneider applied for this benefice in the City Council's own chapel in 1516, had therefore to be born before 1491. Since Tilmann Riemenschneider had no son of his own before his marriage, in 1497, to his second wife, Anna Rappolt, who bore him three sons, Georg, Hans and Bartholomäus (cf. Bier in Thieme-Becker, *loc.cit.*), only one of his three stepsons could be referred to in his request of February 10, 1516, an opinion shared by Streit, *op.cit.*, p. 2, E. Tönnies, *Leben und Werke des Würzburger Bildschnitzers Tilman Riemenschneider (Studien zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte, XXII)*, Strasbourg, 1900, pp. 28 and 41, and Weber, *op.cit.*, pp. 18 and 31. Since Georg Schmidt has to be assumed already dead in 1513 and since Claus Schmidt was a goldsmith, only Hans Schmidt could be the applicant. Tilmann Riemenschneider's request was unsuccessful: the benefice was given to the son of Georg Gansshorn. Yet he and Conrad Ochsner had a second chance in the same year to apply for a benefice for their sons, when on July 10, 1516, the benefice at the altar of the Holy Cross in the Church of the "Bürgerspital" (the burghers' hospital) came up for vote in the City Council after having been vacated by the death of Provost Hanns von Grumbach. Riemenschneider lost again, Conrad Ochsner's son being pro-

vided with this benefice. (Cf. Würzburg, Municipal Archives, Protocols of the City Council VIII, fol. 200v.) Max H. von Freeden, who thought both stepsons, Hans and Claus Schmidt, to be goldsmiths, assumes, *op.cit.*, pp. 11 and 14, that Tilmann Riemenschneider in 1516 applied for his own son Hans Riemenschneider. Hans Riemenschneider, born about 1500, would not have been old enough in 1516 to be a priest so that someone else would have had to have been hired to perform the duties of such office for him. Von Freeden bases his argument on the fact that Tilmann Riemenschneider himself as a youth was in possession of just such a benefice which his uncle Nicolaus had obtained for him at the altar of St. Anne in the Collegiate Church "St. Johannis im Haug," then outside Würzburg's city walls. (Cf. Bier, *op.cit.*, 1948, p. 15, and Von Freeden, *loc.cit.*) Yet in spite of the fact that mere youths could receive certain benefices, it is very improbable that the two benefices that the City Council had to grant in 1516 would have been voted to a minor. In regard to the benefice at the Hospital, the protocols of the City Council state explicitly that the new incumbent, before taking possession, had to bind himself by a declaration not to exchange or give away such benefice without letting the City Council know and without receiving its permission ("doch das er vor einnehmung der possesse ein reuerss gebe, solch beneficium on wissen und willen eins rats nicht zu verwechseln, noch hinzugeben"). Tönnies, *loc.cit.*, identified the applicant of 1516 with the cleric Johannes Riemenschneider who on December 20, 1507, was appointed by the diocese of Mainz to the parish church at Geiselbach (Würzburg, State Archives, Urk. K. 118, No. 137), assuming erroneously that Hans Schmidt's name through adoption had been changed to Johannes Riemenschneider. The Geiselbach cleric in 1508 received from the Abbot of Seligenstadt the parish Geiselbach, according to Amrhein (in *Kunst und Wissenschaft* [supplement to Frankisches Volksblatt, Würzburg], II, 1906, p. 91). He is probably identical with "Johannes Rimsnider from Würzburg," enrolled in 1474 at the University of Erfurt. Erfurt was part of the Diocese of Mainz to which also the clergy of Geiselbach belonged. (Cf. Weber, *op.cit.*, p. 14.) No family relationship between this Johannes Riemenschneider and Tilmann Riemenschneider has yet been established.

63. Cf. Bier in Thieme-Becker, *op.cit.*, XXVIII, 1934, p. 330. Cf. also in the preceding note.

64. According to G. H. Lockner as reported by Leo Bruhns, *op.cit.*, p. 487 n. 25. A "Clas Schmidt, virtel meister," who on November 1, 1504, together with Tilmann Riemenschneider and four others, was proposed for appointment as City Councilor (Würzburg, Municipal Archive, Protocols of the City Council, VII ["Ratsbuch 1497-1510"], fol. 231v), cannot be identical with the goldsmith Claus Schmidt, since, of course, citizenship was a requirement for this office.

65. Cf. above note 61. In 1514, at the annual crossbow shooting match, Claus Schmidt, together with Tilmann Riemenschneider, was designed "zum zile und boltzen" (to the target and bolt), as reported in the protocols of the City Council of Würzburg (Würzburg, Municipal Archives, Protocols of the City Council, Vol. VIII ["Ratsbuch 1510-1517"], fol. 172).

APPENDIX: DOCUMENTS CONCERNING TILMANN RIEMENSCHNEIDER'S DESIGN FOR A SILVER BUST OF ST. JOHN

1. Order to send the design to Nuremberg. January 30, 1518. "Anno 1518 Sabatho post conversionis Pauli ist angezeigt durch hern Hansen von Guttenberg, wie das silber zu sanct Kiligans bild hinauf gein Nuremberg komen. Und hab der meister geschriben u[nserm] g[nädigen] h[errn], das¹ muster hinauf zu schicken. Ist beschlossen, es solle meister Tile befolhen einzuschlaen,² solle es Claus Friderich befolhen hinauf zu schicken, und sollen meister Tylen sein lone gegeben werden durch die ihenen, den es geburt." (In the year 1518 on the Saturday after the conversion of [St.] Paul, Herr Hans von Guttenberg pointed out how the silver for the image of Saint Kilian had come up to Nuremberg, and that the master had written to our gracious lord to send the¹ model up. It was decided that Master Tile should be commanded to wrap it up,² that Claus Friderich should be commanded to send it up, and that Master Tyle should be given his reward by those whose concern it is.) Würzburg, Bavarian State Archives. Protocols of the Chapter of the Cathedral of Würzburg V, 1518-1526, fol. 207v. On fol. 207r are found the minutes of two preceding meetings of January 9 and 12 in which the transportation of the silver to Nuremberg was discussed. The transportation had to be managed without attracting any attention, since an attack on it by the Margrave of Brandenburg-Ansbach was feared.

2. Criticism of the design by the Nuremberg goldsmith. March 23, 1518. "Goltschmit Nurnberg bilds halben. Anno 1518 dinstag nach judica hat Herr Peter von Aufsess angezeigt, wy er als er zu Nurnberg nest gewest bey dem goltschmit des bilds halben, das er gesagt, das antlitz sey zu kyndisch, er wolle es aber formlicher machen daneben ein ander gesicht angezeigt, wolle im gut gestalt und machen, das er leycht zu tragen werde und verhoffe dy zeit, so im aufgesetzt, zu halten. . . ." (Goldsmith, Nuremberg, concerning the figure. In the year 1518, Tuesday after Judica, Herr Peter von Aufsess pointed out that when he had recently been at Nuremberg at the goldsmith's concerning the figure, he had been told by him that the face was too childish, but that he wanted to give it better form, having pointed out next to it another face; and that he wanted to give it good shape and make it easy to carry and that he hoped to keep to the time that had been assigned to him. . . .) Würzburg, Bavarian State Archives. Protocols of the Chapter of the Cathedral of Würzburg V, 1518-1526, fol. 209v. After the part of

the protocol given above, there follows information about the proposals of the Nuremberg goldsmith in regard to the setting of the precious stones which were to be used for the bust.

Both documents are given here from the original protocols. A report of their content is found in an article "Über ein Bild des heil. Kilian von Silber, das in Nürnberg nach Meister Riemenschneiders Modell gearbeitet wurde" (About a silver figure of St. Kilian made in Nuremberg after Master Riemenschneider's model) in: *Extra-Felleisen des Würzburger Stadt- und Landboten* 1853, No. 91. A not completely accurate but more extensive transcript of the documents has been given in G. Anton Weber, *Til Riemenschneider Sein Leben und Wirken*, 3rd ed., Regensburg, 1911, p. 66 nn. 2 and 3.

There is no information about the later fate of the Riemenschneider model. A bust of a bishop by Tilmann Riemenschneider, which according to tradition represents St. Burchard, is in the National Gallery in Washington (Fig. 2). It could possibly be identical with the model since it was always a bust as a recent investigation of the back and under side has proved. It was not, as the author previously had assumed, cut off from a full-length figure. Cf. J. Bier, "The Bust of a Bishop by Tilmann Riemenschneider," *The Art Quarterly*, vi (1943), pp. 158-166, and J. Bier, "Bust of St. Urban by Tilmann Riemenschneider," *The Art Quarterly*, ix (1946), p. 128. The only part that has been cut off is the lower part of the curving piece of the cope which originally must have hung down over the base—now lost—as it did in the destroyed bust of St. Kilian from Neumünster (illustrated in *The Art Quarterly*, vi, p. 164).

The silver bust had already been melted down in 1553, as Weber, *op.cit.*, p. 68, has pointed out. For the history of the production of the silver bust, cf. also the protocols fol. 211r, 216r and 223r, also *Extra-Felleisen*, *loc.cit.*, and Weber, *op.cit.*, p. 67 nn. 2-4.

The Nuremberg goldsmith's name was Paulus Müller, as Th. Hampe discovered from correspondence concerning the production of the silver bust between the Prince-Bishop of Würzburg, Lorenz von Bibra, and the Nuremberg patrician Konrad Imhoff, preserved in *Lade XI* under *Verschiedene Stiftungen* in the archive of the family of the Freiherrn von Imhoff. Cf. *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums* 1928/29, p. 86.

1. A marginal correction, "den besten" (the best one), is made at this point. Therefore more than one model must have been by Riemenschneider from which the best one was chosen. Whether these *muster* were models carved in wood, as here assumed, or were drawings, is open to question, because of the ambiguous phrasing. However, if drawings were made, the usual term "fisirung" could be expected. Cf. above, note 59.

2. That "einzuschlaen" has the meaning of "wrapping it up" is indicated by the following passage in *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums*, 1928/29, p. 114: "wir schicken euch hiemit ein silbern bild, das eingeslagen" (we send you herewith a silver figure, which is wrapped up). Weber, *op.cit.*, p. 66, read wrongly "anzuschlaen" and explained it as "to design."

ADDENDUM: The goldsmith Claus Schmidt is documented also in 1528 when on June 4 he was appointed by the bishop as "Probirer" (tester) at the Würzburg Mint. Cf. G. H. Lockner, "Beiträge zur würzburgischen Münzkunde," *Mittheilungen der Bayerischen Numismatischen Gesellschaft*, xviii, 1899, p. 46.



1. Paulus Müllner, *St. Bartholomew* (detail)
Nuremberg, Germanic National Museum



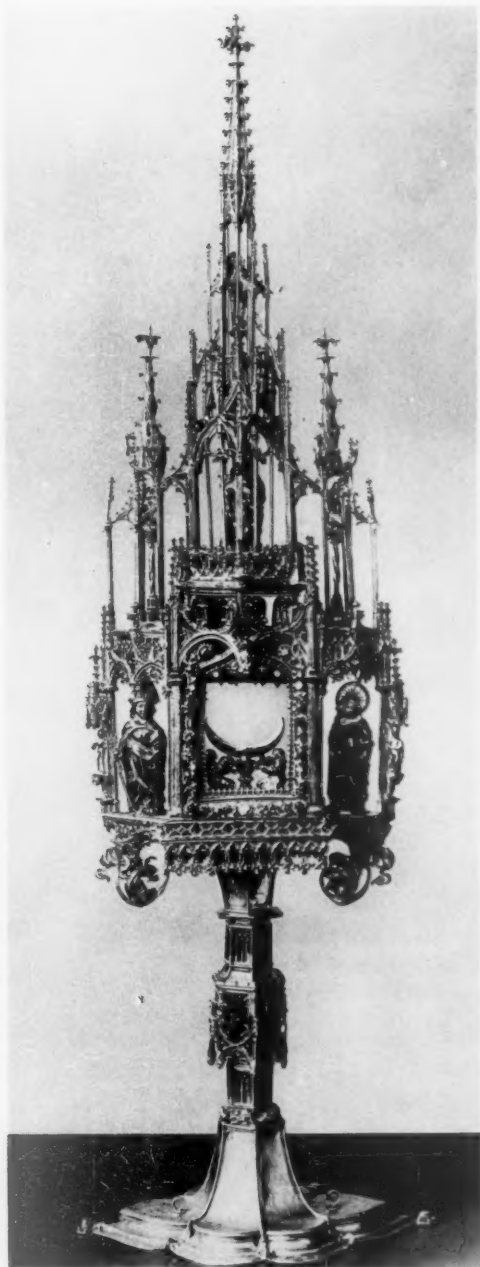
2. Riemenschneider, *St. Burkhard* (detail)
Washington, National Gallery



3. Michel Erhart, *Virgin and Child*,
wood, Vienna, Private collection



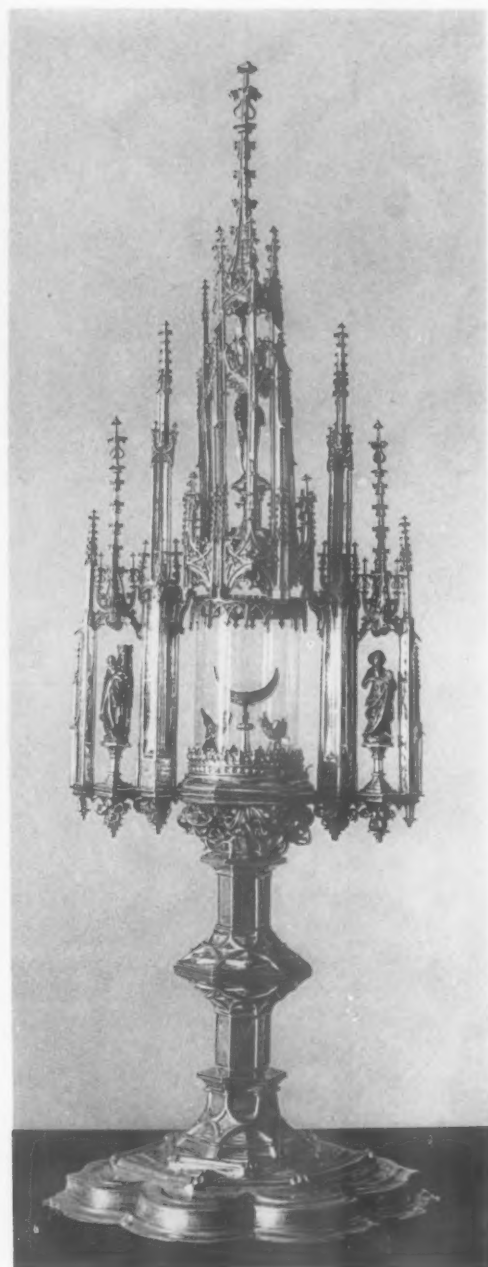
4. Hainrich Huofnagel, *Virgin and Child*, silver statuette
after the model, Fig. 3. Berlin, Ehemals Staatliche Museen



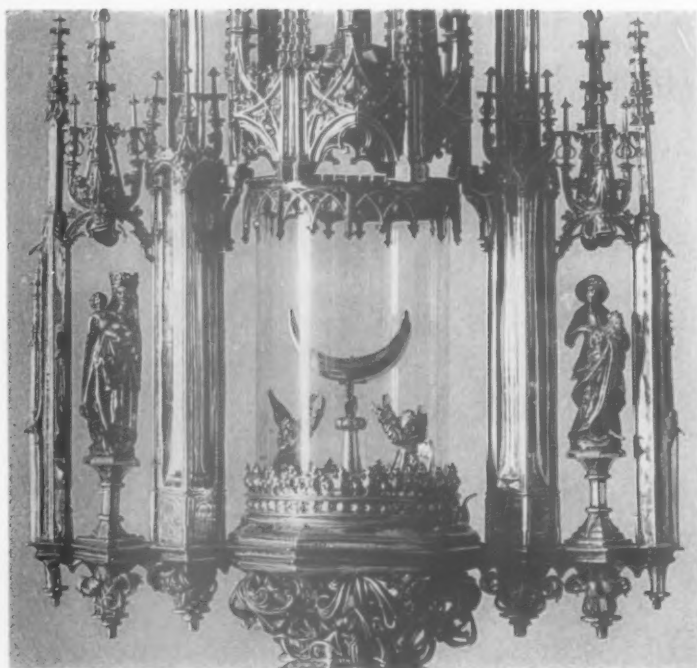
5. Sixt Schmutermeier, *Monstrance*, silver,
Waidhofen an der Ybbs, Parish Church



6. *Monstrance*, wood, model for Fig. 5
Freising, Cathedral



7. Claus Schmidt (?), *Monstrance*,
silver, Bad Mergentheim, Parish Church



8. Claus Schmidt (?), *Monstrance* (detail)
Bad Mergentheim, Parish Church



9. Claus Schmidt (?), *Man of Sorrows*
(detail of Fig. 7)



10. Assistant of Riemenschneider.
Man of Sorrows. Altarpiece of the
Assumption, Creglingen, Herrgottskirche



11. *Man of Sorrows*, Riemenschneider
and Assistant. Altarpiece of the Holy
Blood. Rothenburg-on-the-Tauber, St. James'



12. Claus Schmidt (?), *St. John the Baptist*
(detail of Fig. 8)



13. Rear view of Fig. 12



14. Riemenschneider, *St. John the Baptist*. Hassfurt, Parish Church



15. Riemenschneider, *Altarpiece from Gerolzhofen* (center part). Munich, Bavarian National Museum



16. Assistant to Riemenschneider, *St. John the Baptist*. Mellrichstadt, Grossenberg Chapel



17-18. Claus Schmidt (?), *Virgin and Child* (details of Fig. 8)



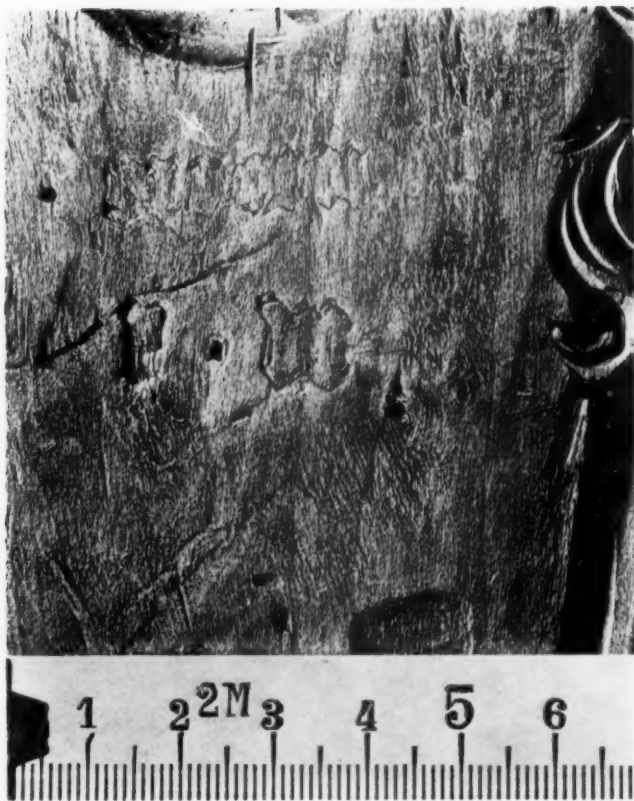
19. Riemenschneider, *Virgin and Child*
Zurich, Private collection



20. Rear view of Fig. 19



21. Detail of Fig. 19



22. Punched inscription of Fig. 20



23. Assistant of Riemenschneider, *Coronation of the Virgin*
Altarpiece of the Assumption. Creglingen, Herrgottskirche



24. Riemenschneider and Erhard Harschner, *The Auszug of the Altarpiece*
of the Holy Blood. Rothenburg-on-the-Tauber, St. James'

BORROWINGS FROM ANCIENT ART IN TITIAN

OTTO J. BRENDEL

THE concept Renaissance appeals to us as an invigorating thought, and we flatter ourselves that the end of the new day which dawned upon the Western world in the fourteenth century is not even now in sight. For all that, we have hardly succeeded in defining the concept well. As a period of history its limitations are blurred; nor is it easy to name a unifying factor among the variegated intellectual trends of that period. The generally descriptive labels now in common use, like "Liberation of the Individual" or "Revival of Classical Thought," are difficult to apply to the vast body of historical facts. At least it must be admitted that a "Renaissance" separating radically the medieval from the modern condition of our civilization did not occur with equal intensity, nor at the same time, in all fields of human endeavor. A signal change of attitude did indeed occur in the formative arts, where the Renaissance style is much in evidence. But even there the real meaning of the phenomenon is still far from clear.

Possibly we shall reach a better understanding of Renaissance classicism, as a part of this "revival," once we know more securely what ancient works the Renaissance artists imitated, and why. But this is precisely one of the points where our difficulties begin. Renaissance art was not an epigonic art. It gave a high place to originality. The modern demand that the artist's work be personal and original, even though it has to be at variance with accepted conventions, itself continues a Renaissance attitude. For this reason alone the relation of Renaissance artists to the ancient monuments is somewhat puzzling. Straight imitations of ancient models are not nearly so numerous in Renaissance painting and sculpture as the theory of the revival of antiquity would lead us to expect. "Classic [sc. Renaissance] art . . . was not an imitation of a foreign prototype—the Antique," H. Wölfflin wrote in 1898. The dictum still stands.¹

On the other hand echoes, and even direct quotations of ancient art, are undoubtedly present in many works of Renaissance artists. Yet to discover them, close scrutiny and a methodical research are often required. They are rarely obvious; in other words, they are not real imitations but must be described by some other name. Much remains to be done, and much will always remain conjecture in this field of Renaissance criticism. However, a few general conclusions begin to stand out in all these investigations. The selection of ancient works in which the Renaissance artists interested themselves could not be, and was not, the same as the standard selection recommended by the later academies of art from the seventeenth century onwards. It included much material which would

1. H. Wölfflin, *Classic Art*, London and New York, 1952, p. xvi.

For a survey of the most important current theories of "Renaissance" as a historical term, see A. Hauser, *The Social History of Art*, I, London, 1951, pp. 266ff. and bibliography, pp. 490f. A valuable bibliography is also included in H. Ladendorf, *Antikenstudium und Antikenkopie* (Abh. d. Sächs. Akademie d. Wissenschaften zu Leipzig), Berlin, 1953, p. 137; note especially the five critical studies cited under nos. 369-371. To these lists may be added: R. Stadelmann, "Zum Problem der Renaissance," *Neue Jahrbücher*, X, 1934, pp. 44ff.; and E. Panofsky, "Renaissance and Renaissances," *Kenyon Review*, VI, 1944, pp. 201ff.

The continuing attempts at a critical revision of the term "Renaissance," as to its meaning and validity, relate to a more general problem regarding our standard historical divisions.

Other terms, for instance "Baroque," are equally in need of redefinition. Their semantic histories are rather motley; and obviously there is danger that their meanings become stretched too far. Especially, these terms can hardly be descriptive of all the various manifestations of a given period. Yet they are often used in a descriptive sense, implying as it were, the complete uniformity of the cultures so distinguished from one another. For this terminological problem—the theory of collective styles of which the "Renaissance" problem forms a part—see my recent study, "Prolegomena to a Book on Roman Art," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, XXI, 1953, pp. 9ff.; M. Shapiro, "Style," in Kroeber, *Anthropology Today*, Chicago, 1953, pp. 287ff.; and John H. Mueller, "Baroque—Is it Datum, Hypothesis, or Tautology?," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, XII, 1954, pp. 421ff.

scarcely be expected from the modern point of view, such as works on a very small scale like coins and engraved stones, or stray fragments of Roman sarcophagi which later generations would have deemed of rather mediocre workmanship. By and large, one finds many more references to works in relief than to famous statues. At the same time an extraordinary power and freedom of adaptation manifests itself in the manner in which individual artists utilized these materials. Here is another reason why it is often difficult to identify ancient prototypes or even recognize that they are present, in Renaissance compositions.

We must conclude that if the ancient monuments exercised a profound attraction on Renaissance artists, it was an attraction comparable to that which primitive art held for so many leading artists at the turn from the nineteenth to the twentieth century. As in modern art, this interest was creative and experimental, rather than merely imitative. With the leaders of the movement called the Renaissance, the attitude towards ancient art was anything but academic, for the simple reason that no academic tradition was then in existence. It was practical and original, on a level with their fresh interests in nature and their problems of form. What, precisely, each artist saw in the ancient monuments which he knew, and to what use he put his knowledge, are questions that cannot be answered beforehand.

The work of Titian is here singled out for special study, as a case history as it were, because of its promise in regard to two capital problems: the extent to which ancient prototypes were used by one of the most creative artists of the time, and the question of the artist's originality in dealing with these foreign materials. Obviously, a critical problem of the first order is involved in both.

No survey of the borrowings from ancient art in the paintings of Titian can claim at this time to be final. A substantial number of observations has accrued during the past thirty years of research in the Renaissance field. The list continues to grow, and new examples can still be added, as I hope to show in the following. Yet I think the time has come for an attempt, however preliminary, to take stock of our knowledge, beyond the mere pursuit of details. A consistent pattern and a personal development already begin to outline themselves in the observations at hand, if we examine them over the long years of Titian's life.²

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

For the most part, our findings must be collected from the paintings themselves. Documentary evidence is scarce regarding Titian's concern with ancient art. Like many artists Titian was not very communicative about his working processes, and even less about his sources of inspiration. Whether or not he took an active interest in classical art had already become an arguable question to his early biographers. Vasari in his "Life of Titian" answered the question negatively, on the authority of Sebastiano del Piombo. Yet as we know, Vasari was in many ways critical of Titian's painting. He came from a different school, and his reasoning at times took a quite one-sided turn. The radically coloristic concept of painting which Titian practiced offended his sense of orthodoxy. He felt, like so many of the seventeenth century academicians after him, that a kind of painting which so thoroughly dissolves all forms into a world of color was apt to damage the secure reality of the images, or as he called it, the design; and design was the special property of art which he and others like him sought chiefly in the ancients. It was no compliment if he felt that Titian took no heed of the classical paragons. But it was his opinion that Titian did not study the works of the ancients and he said so in his book.³

2. Previous, comprehensive discussions: Th. Hetzer, "Studien über Tizians Stil, II. Die Antike," *Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1923, pp. 220ff.; L. Curtius, "Zum Antikenstudium Tizians," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, XXVIII, 1938, pp. 233ff. For details, see bibliography in the following footnotes. As to the division of Titian's life work into six periods, here derived from his changing attitudes towards ancient prototypes, cf. the

similar but not entirely identical divisions suggested by Th. Hetzer and discussed in H. Tietze, *Titian*, Vienna, 1936, I, p. 147 (hereafter referred to as Tietze).

3. G. Vasari, *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori ed architettori*, ed. G. Milanesi, Florence, 1878-1885, VII, p. 431; cf. pp. 427, 447.

Ridolfi, writing on the great painters of Venice somewhat later, in the early seventeenth century, contradicted Vasari. He even mentioned a specific example, a "Cupid by Phidias" which, Ridolfi asserted, Titian used in the famous altarpiece representing the death of St. Peter the Martyr.⁴ To this incident we shall come back later. For us there can be no doubt that Titian really did own casts or copies of sculpture. A cast of the Laocoon was in his studio around 1520, as we are told by others.⁵

What is more important, in spite of Titian's customary silence about such matters, we know at least one fact from himself which has a bearing on this controversy. In a letter of 1557, we find him inquiring about a figure of "Christ from the Minerva."⁶ Almost certainly the reference is to a cast of Michelangelo's *Risen Christ* in Santa Maria sopra Minerva. Reminiscences of that statue actually occur in the works of Titian. This letter is therefore symptomatic in more than one respect. It not only proves that Titian did use sculptured models from which to study; but it also shows that for this purpose a statue by Michelangelo seemed to him as valuable as an ancient, Greek or Roman, model.⁷

Drawings, being avowedly study material in which other artists often reveal the scope of their interests in ancient art, do not yield much evidence in the case of Titian. There are very few clear references to ancient art among his sketches. I assume that the interesting "Polyphemus" represented in the pen drawing at Lille hails from an ancient model, though its prototype has not yet been identified (Fig. 1). The sketches for the above-named altar painting, *Death of Saint Peter the Martyr* (Fig. 15), so far form the only identifiable example of his drawing on the antique, as we shall see presently.⁸

On the other hand, among the paintings themselves the evidence is plentiful, and echoes from ancient art abound. More valuable even, in my opinion, is the insight into Titian's personal development which this material affords us, if arranged in a chronological sequence. For it now appears that during his long career, Titian's interest in classical art did not always remain the same. The findings of the following survey indicate six clearly distinguishable periods in his life work, the distinction being based solely on his use of ancient prototypes. There are several reasons for these divisions. In the first place, at certain periods different groups of ancient monuments appear in his works. Secondly, his attitude towards these monuments and the use he makes of them, changes. Last but not least, the frequency of the classical element itself, differs. We find periods of intense interest in ancient prototypes. But there also was a time, in mid-life, when for many years hardly a trace can be detected in his work of any occupation with classical art.

FIRST PERIOD: CA. 1505-1511

It is not difficult to see that Titian was familiar with classical monuments from the beginning of his career, and that he grasped their style easily. In his early paintings remnants and fragments of ancient art are not rarely shown; and they always are well understood. Mostly they are conceived as, or derived from, works in relief. Thus the base on which Saint Peter sits in the votive painting of Jacopo Pesaro, of ca. 1505, represents a relief in the ancient manner. It includes scenes taken from

4. C. Ridolfi, *Le Maraviglie dell' arte*, ed. D. Freiherr von Hadeln, Berlin, 1914, I, p. 168. Cf. below, notes 6 and 23.

5. J. A. Crowe and G. B. Cavalcaselle, *The Life and Times of Titian*, London, 1881, I, p. 290. Titian's accurate knowledge of the famous group is of course also demonstrated by the much discussed woodcut, the "Monkey—Laocoon," for which see H. Janson, "Titian's Laocoon Caricature and the Vesalian Galenist Controversy," *ART BULLETIN*, XXVIII, 1946, pp. 49ff.

6. E. Tietze-Conrat, "Titian as Letter Writer," *ART BULLETIN*, XXVI, 1944, pp. 120ff. Letter to his son Orazio; Venice, June 17, 1557.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 121 and n. 36.

8. Below, note 23. As to the drawing at Lille, Tietze, II (plates), fig. 39, I think that a Roman sarcophagus rather

than statuary yielded the probable model. This drawing has also been ascribed to Sebastiano del Piombo, by B. Berenson, *The Drawings of the Florentine Painters*, Chicago, 1938, II, p. 322, no. 2481, and others; cf. L. Düssler, *Sebastiano del Piombo*, Basel, 1942, p. 169, no. 155. The ancient model did not necessarily represent Polyphemus. The same drawing could as well be derived from some other, similar type like the young Triton playing a flute in the now lost relief, often reproduced during the Renaissance, of the della Valle collection. For the latter see A. Rumpf, "Die Meerwesen auf den antiken Sarkophagreliefs" (F. Matz d.Ä., C. Robert, G. Rodenwaldt, *Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs*, v, 1), Berlin, 1939, pp. 40f., no. 98.

a Roman sarcophagus with Bacchic scenes.⁹ Likewise the imperial statue in the background of the fresco at Padua, illustrating one of the miracles of St. Anthony, is remarkably similar to a prince in the famous Augustan relief at Ravenna, as L. Curtius has shown. Titian could have found its prototype there. He could have seen similar portrait figures in other Roman monuments, also, such as the so-called Riccardi-sarcophagus now placed at the entrance to the Baptistry in Florence, or the almost identical sarcophagus in Pisa.¹⁰

The decisive point about these and other similar examples is that they are not necessarily copied from a single and definite ancient monument. None renders an ancient prototype faithfully or in its entirety. While including motifs gleaned from actual works of Roman art, on the whole they must be considered as free improvisations in the ancient manner, rather than copies. They are made-up antiques. As such, they are intended to contrast with their surroundings in which they represent curious relics of the past, usually with a symbolic connotation. Thus in the exvoto of Jacopo Pesaro, the rule of Saint Peter has visibly replaced and subdued the pagan goddess of Paphos, Aphrodite, whose worship is merely recorded as a historical fact, on the base of his throne. Fictitious antiques of this kind recur in the art of Titian, at all times. They always represent freely invented objects, not real specimens of ancient art; and they usually are shown for a purpose. In no way should they be called borrowings from ancient art, in the sense here contemplated, and in the following we can mostly disregard them.

One such example shall nevertheless be mentioned here, because it shows so strikingly the liberties which Titian took with the ancient style. I refer to the profile head imitating an ancient relief on the stone parapet in that splendid but so far unidentified portrait in London, called the "Schiavona" (Fig. 2). A Roman portrait from the time of Augustus or his immediate successors clearly served as a model. The prototype may have been a cameo or more likely, a coin (Fig. 3). However, the features so represented are not Roman. They show the profile of the same lady whose facing figure forms the main subject of the painting. In order to solve an old dilemma of portraiture—the same which caused Picasso to invent his double faces—Titian added the side view of the sitter to the facing portrait, by way of the fictitious relief which consequently must be considered as a free paraphrase in the Roman style.¹¹

SECOND PERIOD: CA. 1512-1520

Already at this point one encounters the difficulty described above, which is really characteristic of much Renaissance art and which here, too, must be taken into account. The ancient models used by the Renaissance artists were not always statues. In fact, famous statuary is the exception among the fifteenth and early sixteenth century studies from the antique. Other classes of monuments were far more popular, because examples were more frequent and more easily accessible. This is especially true of the Roman sarcophagi, of which fragments and entire specimens are found in almost every section of Italy and southern France. Smaller objects, also, must often be considered as possible sources of Renaissance art, like Roman coins and engraved stones. Most of this material, dating from the Roman Empire, constitutes a rather conventional kind of art turned out by workshops in which copying was frequently practiced. Therefore it is often difficult to decide just what specific example, for instance of a Roman sarcophagus, was imitated in a Renaissance composition.

9. Tietze, II, fig. 1. Cf. Curtius, *op.cit.*, p. 236; R. Wittkower, "Transformations of Minerva in Renaissance Imagery," *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, II, 1938-39, pp. 202f.

10. *Miracle of the Speaking Babe*: Tietze, II, fig. 8; Curtius, *op.cit.*, p. 233f. Riccardi-Sarcophagus: S. Reinach, *Répertoire des reliefs grecs et romains*, Paris, 1912, III, p. 42, fig. 2; Photograph, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 113. Sarcophagus at Pisa: P. Lasinio, Jr., *Raccolta di sarcofagi, urne e altri monumenti del Campo Santo di Pisa*, Florence, 1825, pl. 121. The

Roman sarcophagi at Pisa and Siena appear to be among the earliest ancient monuments exploited, already in the art of the trecento; cf. the interesting observations in A. Bush-Brown, "Giotto: Two Problems in the Origin of his Style," *ART BULLETIN*, XXXIV, 1952, pp. 42ff.

11. Tietze, II, fig. 5. Evidently Titian used the same model—likewise in sideview—for the mother in the *Miracle of the Speaking Babe* at Padua; Tietze, II, fig. 9 and p. 307.

Many figural types of Roman art are not even limited to one class of monuments, such as the sarcophagi, but were also repeated in different materials such as engraved stones, or in other kinds of relief; sometimes one and the same type, with slight modifications, can be found in reliefs as well as statuary. Hence the doubt which arises from such portrayals of the antique as, for instance, the imperial statue in the background of Titian's fresco in Padua. The latter work was finished in 1511. About that time, around and after 1512, a new interest in ancient art can be observed in the paintings of Titian. The earliest, striking example is the nude figure which perhaps was intended to incorporate Beauty Unadorned (Fig. 4), in the famous painting now commonly called *Sacred and Profane Love*. L. Curtius already demonstrated conclusively the close relation between this figure, seated with such strange litheness on the edge of the marble fountain, and the ancient Nereids seated in similar fashion on the backs of their sea monsters on certain Roman sarcophagi. A definite prototype can even be named—a sarcophagus in Pisa (Fig. 6).¹² In this case, however, the ancient monument was not represented as an antique object or a curious testimony of the past. Nor was it looked up because of its foreign or romantic character, but on the contrary as an example of art of lasting validity and immediate presence. Thus we face the paradoxical situation that the sarcophagus in Titian's painting which manifestly represents an ancient object, perhaps with emblematic meaning, was not really copied from an existing monument, although it includes reminiscences of such famous antiques as for instance the horses from San Marco. It constitutes a fictitious antique, the most imaginative in all the art of Titian. On the other hand the nude heroine of the composition was copied, however freely, from a Roman relief at Pisa. Yet all the marks of her stone origin have been deleted. The attention of the artist focused on this detail alone, not on the relief as a whole. He lifted the seated figure from its context, and gave it a meaning and importance which it never possessed in the ancient sarcophagus. He discovered and interpreted in his own way the gentle fluency of its unveiled form, with the result that in the painting, against the foil of her scarlet cloak, the ancient Nereid comes to life in a quite new and unexpected fashion. Her resplendent colors bear no resemblance to the somewhat routine marble work of the ancient exemplar. Yet there is a certain magnificence about the figural invention itself; and this is what Titian, the artist, was sufficiently sensitive to see and to translate into the now rapidly developing idiom of his own painting.

Possibly this free and highly personal interpretation of ancient motifs, viewed chiefly as isolated figural inventions, occurred to Titian even earlier when, around 1508, he worked with Giorgione on the frescoes of the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi*. One fragment of these lost paintings, known only from the seventeenth century etchings of Zanetti (Fig. 5), appears very similar to the Beauty Unadorned in *Sacred and Profane Love*.¹³ At any rate, five to ten years later the idea had taken a firm hold in Titian's mind. It then became a conscious working method and at the same time an expression of his most immediate responses to ancient art, valid for the rest of his life. And one other statement is due here. With the possible exception of one ancient head, represented in a drawing at Detroit, which evidently influenced the quite sculptural face of *Salome* in the Doria Gallery¹⁴ and other related paintings of this period, the ancient monuments which most impressed Titian at that time were the narratives and decorative friezes of Roman sarcophagi. This fact is confirmed by another famous example, of about 1518, namely the Maenad with the tambourine in the *Feast of Venus*. The tambourine is a free addition. The figure itself repeats the screaming Creusa from a sarcophagus representing the story of Medea (Fig. 7).¹⁵ I believe that

12. Curtius, *op.cit.*, p. 240 and figs. 8-9. Sarcophagus in Pisa: A. Rumpf, *op.cit.*, pp. 24f., no. 68, and pl. 26; Lasinio, *op.cit.*, pl. 133. For a thematic interpretation of the painting, see E. Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology*, New York, 1939, pp. 150ff.

13. Tietze, I, pl. 4b.

14. H. Tietze, *Art in America*, XXXIII, 1945, pp. 148ff. *Salome*: Tietze, II, figs. 13f.

15. This Creusa had a remarkable effect on Renaissance and later art. One will recognize her in several rather unexpected forms of survival, among the materials presented by E. Wind and F. Antal, "The Maenad under the Cross," *Journal of the*

the Christ Child in the so-called *Madonna with the Cherries*, painted a few years earlier, was drawn from one of the children of Medea, on the same sarcophagus. Replicas of this composition were demonstrably studied by Renaissance artists, and sketches could easily have reached Titian if he did not know the original.¹⁶

THIRD PERIOD: CA. 1520-1528

All these earlier studies and ideas came to full fruition in Titian's work after 1520. The great altar in Brescia, painted between 1520 and 1522, is their first mature result. For the first time we feel that the art of others—of the masters—is being met and accepted actively, not only as a help or an inspiration, but a challenge. Also for the first time, his choice clearly includes the kind of art most foreign to Titian's own, statuary. The problem then was to make painting out of statues; to incorporate into a new style the ideas of others; to learn not only how to balance human figures but to give them preponderance and significance without destroying the context and multiplicity of objects necessary in a painting.

The previously cited copy of Laocöon must by then have arrived in Venice. Titian used it for the rising Christ in the center panel of his new altar (Fig. 8). Saint Sebastian to the right was fashioned after one of Michelangelo's fettered slaves. Both facts have often been noticed.¹⁷ In addition, I observe that a drawing, made perhaps ten years earlier (Fig. 9), was incorporated in the guardian seen from the back in the foreground of the *Resurrection*; and that the armored figure of Saint Celsus, in the left side panel, recalls the twisted figure of Saint John the Baptist looking back across his pointing arm in Leonardo's often imitated painting.¹⁸ These, then, are the masters: Leonardo, Michelangelo, the Antique. The case is unique in Titian's work, the statement programmatic.

The next year, 1523, brings another masterwork: *Bacchus and Ariadne* (Fig. 10). Bacchus and his noisy cortege rush forward from the woods at a point where the path bends and open country suddenly appears. To the hero of the picture this scenic spot signifies a turning point in the literal sense of the word; it is a metaphor made visible. For Bacchus himself at this turn of the road leaps from his car in a whirl, so that his rapidly moving figure becomes the revolving axis of the entire composition. Suddenly swayed, the god of ecstasies leaves the self-enthused and self-entangled revels of his crowd for a different rapture: the love of Ariadne. Wide spaces lie beyond; in the sky beckons the starry crown.

The composition is capable of Neoplatonic interpretation, but this is not our task here. It is important, however, to realize that the figure of the wine god denotes frenzy. It is admirably invented, but not without prototype. We find its ancient model in the figure of Orestes as he is seen on Roman sarcophagi, obsessed with another kind of rage, amidst the slain bodies of his victims and the haunting Furies (Figs. 11, 12).¹⁹ To say what replica of this sarcophagus Titian might have known would at present be a mere guess. Nevertheless, it can be regarded as certain that Titian had a lasting interest in this ancient composition, because details gleaned from it can be found in other paintings by him. As to the present painting, I think that in addition to Bacchus two other figures can be definitely linked with ancient art; and in this case, once again, the likely prototype can be localized in Pisa. The merry maenad behind Bacchus in Titian's painting ob-

Warburg Institute, 1, 1937-38, pp. 70ff. Cf. E. Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology*, p. 172 n. 3. Feast of Venus: Tietze, II, fig. 40.

16. Tietze, II, fig. 30. Medea Sarcophagus at Mantua: B. Degenhart, "Michele di Giovanni di Bartolo: disegni dall' antico e il camino 'della Iole'" *Boll. d'Arte*, XXXV, 1950, p. 214 n. 5 and p. 209, fig. 5. C. Robert, "Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs," II, Berlin, 1890, pp. 210ff., no. 196. During the 16th century the more popular replica was the one in the Vatican,

Robert, *op.cit.*, pp. 206f., no. 194.

17. Tietze, I, pp. 116f.; II, fig. 55.

18. Drawing, Tietze, II, fig. 73. Satyr (?) seen from the back. For Leonardo's *St. John*, cf. Kenneth M. Clark, *Leonardo da Vinci*, New York, 1939, pp. 173ff. and pl. 66.

19. Examples in Robert, *op.cit.*, II, pp. 171ff. Pisanello drew the same Orestes, perhaps from the sarcophagus of the Giustiniani collection: Robert, *op.cit.*, p. 171, no. 156. Cf. B. Degenhart, *op.cit.*, and "Pisanello," Turin, 1945, pp. 23f.

viously conforms to a similar figure, attired and moving in very much the same fashion, in a fragment of a Bacchic sarcophagus preserved in the Pisan Camposanto (Fig. 13). Once one accepts the similarity between these two figures, it is not difficult to observe that the nymph seen from the back and moving toward the ground in the same fragment, inspired the portrayal of Ariadne herself, walking briskly into the background of Titian's painting.²⁰

The famous *Entombment* in the Louvre was probably created not much later than the mythology of Ariadne. It shows, however, a somewhat different style. The figures are larger, the space is really theirs, and within it they gain importance and monumentality. This composition, too, was based on an ancient relief. Its prototype was the same, sad little procession carrying the dead Meleager homewards, in which the young Rafael had also been interested. The similarity—certainly not a mere coincidence—was long observed by others. Once more we should note that the model was a Roman sarcophagus.²¹

We know that the just mentioned painting of the *Entombment*, which may be dated to the years around 1525, hails from Mantua. Perhaps it was acquired by the Duchess Isabella about the time she commissioned the artist to paint the once famous, now lost, series of Roman emperors for the decoration of her palace. As to the latter series, I do not feel that these portraits should be included with Titian's borrowings from ancient art. They represent free reconstructions based on ancient coins or perhaps in some cases on sculptured heads, sometimes resulting in astonishingly close likenesses, according to the extant engravings. But like the fictitious antiques, they illustrate an archaeological experiment of limited interest only. From the artist's point of view the most important features were the portrait poses, which show no connection with ancient art.²²

Five years later, in 1530, Titian completed the large altarpiece with the death of Saint Peter the Martyr which unfortunately perished during the last century, and can now be judged only from copies (Fig. 14). This is the painting in which, according to Ridolfi, Titian portrayed a Cupid "by Phidias." The attribution to Phidias need hardly be taken seriously, but the question what ancient figure Ridolfi had in mind remains interesting. Drawings from the hand of Titian are preserved (Fig. 15). They confirm the later copies in all essential features, but hardly bear out suggestions made previously that the reliefs of the so-called *Throne of Saturn* furnished the prototype. The *Amor of Phidias*, of which Ridolfi had some knowledge, more likely was a figure in the round. I submit that the cast from which he drew represented a well-known Hellenistic statue (Fig. 16), a small boy carrying a huge water jug. The figure was very popular. Ancient copies are frequent and were studied in other Renaissance studios as well, as we know from existing drawings (Fig. 17). Moreover, the motif was known to Titian, who used it as a fountain figure in the Bridgewater version of his *Diana and Callisto*, though there he gave it a different shape.²³

20. Relief at Pisa: P. Lasinio, *op.cit.*, pl. 52, no. 90; fragment of a Roman Sarcophagus with Bacchic scenes.

21. Tietze, II, fig. 65; cf. Curtius, *op.cit.*, pp. 238ff. The *Hunt of Meleager*, likewise, was already drawn by Pisanello: Robert, *op.cit.*, III, 3, p. 564, fig. 20, 3. For the history of this composition before Titian, Renaissance drawings of the Sarcophagus Sciarra, and the fragment in Rome, Museo Capitolino, Stanza dei Filosofi n. 115, once known as *Pietà militare*, see A. von Salis, *Antike und Renaissance*, Erlenbach-Zürich, 1947, pp. 69ff. Another fragment of the same composition, with Renaissance restorations, is now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York; ART BULLETIN, XXVII, 1945, 266ff.

22. Tietze, I, pp. 140f. and pl. 16.

23. For Ridolfi, see above, note 4. Cf. Tietze, I, pl. 14, and p. 114, for Titian's preparatory drawings and the *Throne of Saturn*; for the latter, see also note 31 below. Statues of a boy with waterjug, after Hellenistic original, artist unknown: cf. O. Brendel, text to P. Arndt and W. Amelung, *Photographische Einzelaufnahmen antiker Skulpturen*, Munich, 1938, no. 3977.

Numerous replicas are preserved, some with wings, others without. A faithful sketch from a Roman copy—perhaps the same copy—of this type, by Fra Bartolomeo: B. Berenson, *The Drawings of the Florentine Painters*, Chicago, 1938, III, fig. 449.

The existence of the latter drawing strongly favors the assumption that Titian, likewise, drew from the cast of a statue, not a relief. However, some figural motives are ubiquitous in Roman art; and this is one of them. Before making a final decision one should also consider the frequent representations of children carrying fruit garlands on Roman sarcophagi, which often look very much like the *Boy with Waterjug*, and were well known in Renaissance workshops. Cf. A. Rumpf, *Die Meerwesen auf antiken Sarkophagen*, pp. 1ff.; especially p. 3, fig. 6, drawing by F. da Sangallo. On the other hand, a garland is not the same as a water jug. The fact that Titian did represent a boy pouring water from a jug, as a fountainhead, in the Bridgewater *Diana*, therefore gives circumstantial evidence of his familiarity with the statuary type. Illustration in Tietze, II, fig. 234.

In the story of Saint Peter the Martyr the ancient Cupid has become an angel, and instead of carrying his water jug brandishes a palm branch. Again the transformation seems typical. As in the case of the Bacchus-Orestes, Titian displays neither interest in nor respect for, the original meaning of his ancient prototypes. He is interested in the stance and the posture—the statuesque composition, that is—of his ancient models, not their content. I believe therefore that in similarly free manner the figure of the murderer in the same painting also incorporates a reminiscence of an ancient type: the famous torso of the so-called *Pasquino* in Rome, seen from the back. Even the arrangement of the drapery with the leather strap across the shoulder can be so explained. Variations of the same torso can be found in other works of the Cinquecento, especially in the circle of Michelangelo. Obviously it was difficult to understand this impressive fragment correctly; the interpretation as a murderer, stooping over his prostrate victim, in the *Death of Saint Peter the Martyr* of course is Titian's own.²⁴ Even a memory of the Bacchus-Orestes lingers on nearby in the whirling movement of the horrified companion of the Saint. The entire painting epitomizes, as it were, Titian's intense occupation with classical concepts of figural composition during the 1520's. In his life-work, it marks the end of a period.

INTERMISSION: FOURTH PERIOD CA. 1530-1545

It is strange to notice that for some time after the great altar with the *Death of Saint Peter the Martyr*, borrowings from ancient art become extremely rare in the works of Titian. Quite abruptly his interests seem to take a different turn. To my knowledge, not one example of ancient art can be shown in any work of Titian during the years immediately after 1530. There is no lull in the production of the artist, which includes works as important as the so-called *Allegory of Avalos* or *St. Mary's Ascension to the Temple*, together with many portraits. Yet even when the subject matter alludes to ancient mythology, as in the *Venus* of the Prado, formal borrowings from ancient art are either absent or so disguised that they have not been recognized. Generally the work of Titian in the fifteen years between 1530 to 1545 is marked by a conspicuous rarity, and for a long time a complete absence, of those classical elements which in the preceding period held such fascination for him.

One possible exception is the dead soldier stripped of his armor in the foreground of the *Battle of Cadore*, of 1537 (Fig. 18). To judge from the existing copy, this detail of a composition otherwise resounding with echoes of Michelangelo's and Leonardo's art recalls the slain Aegisthus in the same Orestes sarcophagus (Fig. 11), which previously gave form to the rapture of Bacchus in the Ariadne mythology.²⁵ The memory of this one ancient monument, so infused with the spirit of drama, still persists in the mind of Titian. But within the production of these years the *Battle of Cadore* remains an isolated example. The great works of this period are mostly allegories—highly personal, poetic and free inventions of subject matter—and portraits. It seems that neither in these creations of romantic fiction nor in their realistic counterpart, the portraits, did Titian find a place or a need for the formal poetry of ancient art.

The first symptoms of an impending change appear around 1542. The date is significant because it indicates a new creative interest in ancient art some time before that famous journey to Rome which, to his friends and contemporaries, seemed a turning point in Titian's career. The strangely statuesque figure of the risen Christ in the altar at Urbino, which was begun in 1542, can be adduced as an example.²⁶ Its prototype, although very probably classical, still remains

24. Studies of the *Pasquino* in Renaissance art: H. Laden-dorf, *Antikenstudium und Antikenkopie*, Berlin, 1953, p. 37 and bibliography, p. 100 n. 41; especially A. Grünwald, "Über einige Werke Michelangelos in ihrem Verhältnisse Zur Antike," *Jahrbuch des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, XXVIII,

1908, pp. 130f.

25. *Battle of Cadore*: Tietze, I, pp. 129ff. and pl. 17. Subject matter is doubtful; cf. E. Tietze-Conrat, *ART BULLETIN*, XXVII, 1945, pp. 205ff. Orestes-Sarcophagus: above, note 19.

26. Tietze, II, fig. 162.



1. *Polyphemus*. Pen-drawing. Lille, Musée Wicar



2. Titian, so-called *Schiavona*. London, National Gallery



3. *The Elder Antonia*
Roman Coin



4. Titian, *Sacred and Profane Love*. Rome, Villa Borghese



5. *Copy of Mural by Titian on the Fondaco dei Tedeschi*
(Etching by Zanetti)



6. *Sea-monsters and Nereids*. Roman Sarcophagus
Pisa, Campo Santo



7. *Story of Medea*. Roman Sarcophagus. Mantua, Palazzo Ducale



8. Titian, *Altar with Resurrection of Christ*
Brescia, SS. Nazaro e Celso



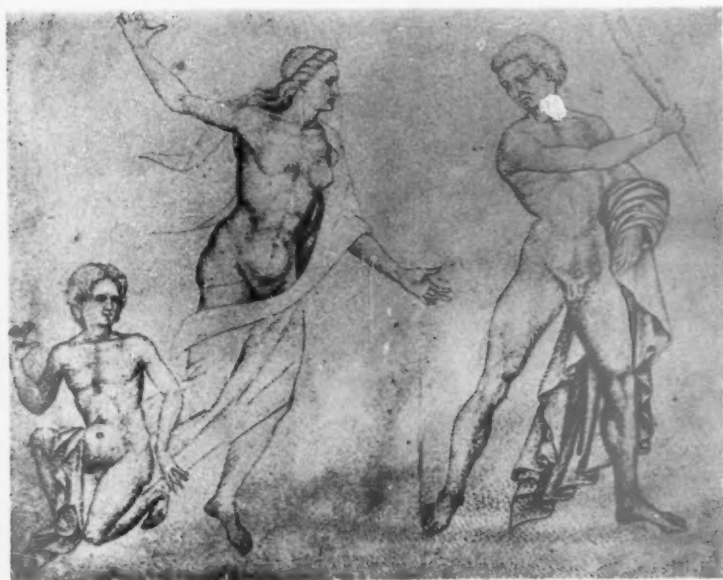
9. Titian, *Two Satyrs (?)*. Pen-drawing
New York, Coll. E. and A. Silberman



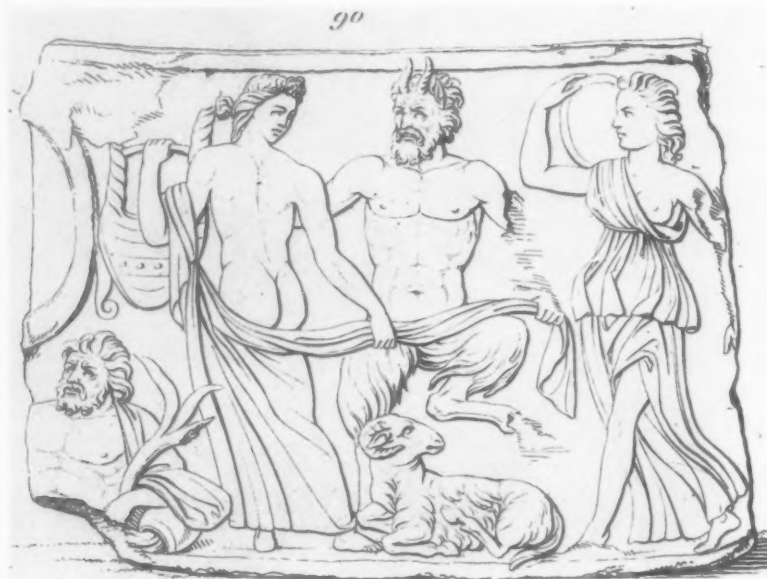
10. Titian, *Bacchus and Ariadne*
London, National Gallery



11. *Story of Orestes*. Roman Sarcophagus. Rome, Lateran



12. Pisanello, *Drawing from the Antique*. Paris, Louvre



13. *Nymphs and Satyr*. Fragment of a Roman Sarcophagus
Pisa, Campo Santo



14. *Death of St. Peter the Martyr*
Engraving after Titian's painting
formerly in SS. Giovanni et Paolo
Venice



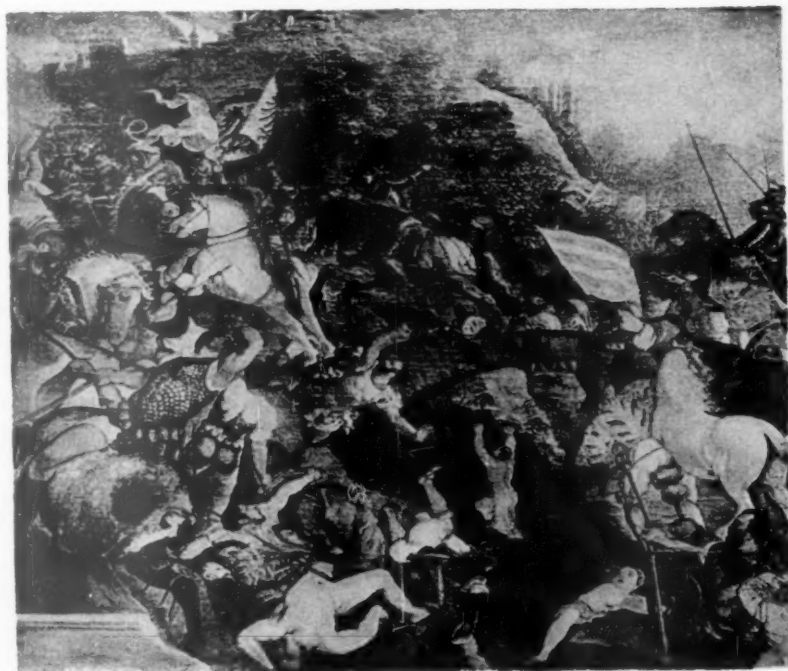
15. Titian, *Sketches for the Altarpiece, Fig. 14*



16. *Boy with Water Jug*. Roman, after
Hellenistic original. Rome, Museo
dei Conservatori



17. Fra Bartolomeo, *Drawing from the Antique*. Chantilly, Musée Condée



18. *Battle of Cadore*. Copy after Titian. Florence, Uffizi



19. Titian, *David and Goliath*
Venice, Santa Maria Della Salute



20. Titian, *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*
Venice, Gesuiti



22. *Nymph and Satyr*. From the "Ara Grimani"
Venice, Museo Archeologico



21. Titian, *Venus and Adonis*. Madrid, Prado



23. *Kneeling Gaul*. Roman, after Hellenistic
original. Venice, Museo Archeologico



24. *Fallen Gaul*. Roman, after Hellenistic
original. Venice, Museo Archeologico



25. *Samson*. Woodcut after Titian, by Boldini



26. *Apollo Belvedere*. Rome, Vatican



27. Titian, *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*
El Escorial, Monastery of St. Lawrence



28. Titian, *St. Sebastian*
Leningrad, Hermitage



29. Titian, *Perseus and Andromeda*. London, Wallace Collection



30. Titian, *Pietà*. Venice, Accademia



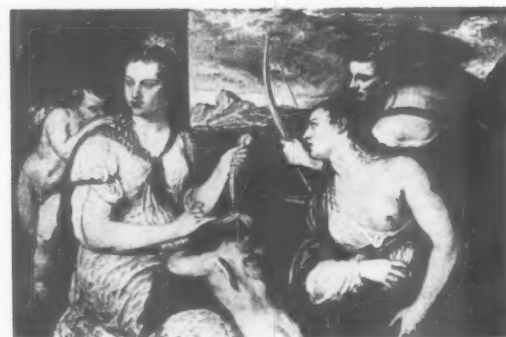
31. *The Children of Niobe*. Roman Sarcophagus. Venice, Museo Archeologico



32. So-called *Anchirrhoe*. Drawing by Pierre Jacques
Paris, Bibliothèque National



33. Michelangelo, Tondo so-called *Madonna Pitti*
Florence, Bargello



34. Titian, *Education of Cupid*. Rome, Villa Borghese



35. Titian, *Nymph and Shepherd*. Vienna, Gemäldegalerie



36. *Satyr and Reclining Nymph*. Ancient Cameo



37. *Young Nymph and Satyr*. From the "Ara Grimani"
Venice, Museo Archeologico

uncertain. One would expect a statue; perhaps the same statue was used for the large painting of Saint John the Baptist in Venice, which likewise must belong to these years and which, because of its sculptural character, represents one of the most exceptional compositions in the entire work of Titian.²⁷ However, as long as no statue can definitely be identified as the model for either figure, it must not be forgotten that reliefs, too, may have provided suitable examples. Bacchus in Roman sarcophagi is not rarely represented in almost identical posture.²⁸

Two other borrowings from ancient art can be stated with more certainty, in paintings between 1543 and 1545. Ridolfi thought that the face of Saint Nicholas in the large altar painting for S. Niccolo dei Frari, now in the Vatican, was drawn from the head of Laocoon. He was probably right.²⁹ And once more, in these years, the inanimate body of Aegisthus from the Orestes sarcophagi (Fig. 11) makes its appearance in a work of Titian. Enlarged and isolated, its form was used to represent the slain Goliath on the ceiling of Santa Maria della Salute (Fig. 19).³⁰ The derivation is obvious, in my opinion; note, not only the steep position of the fallen giant, but also details such as the left leg hidden from view. In the Roman relief the head of Aegisthus is represented as disjointed, to show the broken neck. In Titian's painting, in conformity with the Biblical story, the head is similarly dislocated but actually severed from the torso—a rather ingenious reinterpretation of the ancient motif, and quite true to its realistic spirit.

FIFTH PERIOD: CA. 1545-1560

There is evidence that the winter of 1545-1546, which Titian spent in Rome, greatly stimulated his reawakening interest in the classical monuments. However, the result seems rather paradoxical. It is true that variations of classical motifs again become more numerous in his work. His repertory of ancient art, also, undergoes a change. References to the Orestes sarcophagus and the Pisan reliefs no longer play the same role as before. But the new set of models which replaces them does not come from Rome. Instead, for the first time, we can definitely identify ancient sculptures from Venice among Titian's sources.

The reclining *Danae* in Naples, which Vasari ascribed to the very winter of 1545-1546, raises this rather curious problem, in the figure of the accompanying Cupid. There exists a close parallel to this figure in the so-called *Throne of Saturn*, in Venice. Certainly it is strange to find a Venetian antique included here; as if Titian had taken sketches with him to Rome. On the other hand, a noticeable resemblance can also be observed between Titian's Cupid and the several extant copies of Lysippus' *Eros with the Bow*. In neither case is the similarity complete.³¹ Shall we say that Titian, in his rendering of the Cupid, combined two ancient motives into one? We shall find a comparable uncertainty between two possible prototypes later, in the so-called *Education of Cupid*. With Titian a fusion of two different images into one must be considered a possibility.

At any rate, within the following years, some of the Venetian antiques appear to have intrigued him very much. This is especially true of the two statues of wounded Gauls which, likewise, are

27. *ibid.*, fig. 151.

28. Examples: Clarac, fig. 146, in S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine*, Paris, 1930, I, pl. 41. On the other hand Titian's St. John may be compared to a statue like the L. Verus (head restored) in the Vatican, Braccio Nuovo no. 123, for which see W. Amelung, *Die Skulpturen des Vatikanischen Museums*, Berlin, 1903-08, I, p. 148 and pl. 19; cf. Clarac in Reinach, *op.cit.*, p. 589, no. 2461. For another suggestion, regarding the figure of St. John, cf. Curtius, *op.cit.*, p. 235.

29. Tietze, I, p. 189 and II, fig. 145. Cf. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *op.cit.*, I, pp. 289ff.

30. Tietze, II, fig. 157.

31. Tietze, I, pp. 191ff. and II, fig. 179. For the well-known series of reliefs which render Cupids busying themselves

with the attributes or the empty throne of some deity, see C. Ricci, *Ausonia*, IV, 1909, pp. 247ff. The Cupid which resembles the one in Titian's *Danae* is shown *ibid.*, p. 256, fig. 7, and Tietze, I, pl. 11. The fragments were dispersed by the end of the Middle Ages; their provenance was probably Ravenna. Those now in Venice, which include the figure probably used by Titian, were in his time kept in the church of Sta. Maria dei Miracoli.

For the history of the Grimani antiques, see C. Anti, *Il Regio Museo Archeologico nel Palazzo Reale di Venezia*, Rome, 1930, pp. 7f. Cf. also the following footnote, regarding the statues of dying Gauls. A Roman copy of the *Eros with the Bow* formed part of the second Grimani collection, for which see below, note 35; Anti, *op.cit.*, p. 69, no. VI, 4.

still in Venice. Both statues formed part of the first Grimani collection, which was donated to the city in 1523. They can be recognized in Titian's paintings soon after 1545. The Gaul lying on his back (Fig. 20) first provided the model for the tortured Saint Lawrence, in the painting in the church of the Jesuits, which was begun around 1548 (Fig. 23).³² As usual there are minor changes, and the forms are reinterpreted in terms of light and dark. But the figure is sufficiently clear to convince us that Titian actually studied this ancient sculpture; even that he saw it with essentially the identical restorations as we know it now. The same statue underlies the well-known engraving representing the *Tantalus* which Titian delivered to Queen Mary of Hungary between 1549 and 1553.³³ Its counterpart, the kneeling Gaul (Fig. 24), was represented as Samson in Boldrini's woodcut, after Titian's design (Fig. 25), whence it found its way into the now more famous painting by Rubens, in Munich.³⁴ Both Gauls were moreover transformed into two rejoicing patriarchs in the so-called *Gloria*, in Madrid, which was finished by 1554.³⁵ Nor is this the last instance of Titian's interest in them, as we shall soon see.

Another very popular composition of the same period must be considered next: the often varied paintings of Adonis, best known from the version in Madrid (Fig. 21). This composition likewise, in Titian's free manner, utilizes a prototype found in Venice. It is my suggestion that the rather unusual idea with which Titian dealt so effectively, to show Venus from the back, and indeed the whole group, was inspired by one of the reliefs decorating the Roman altar known as the *Ara Grimani*. Only the original group does not portray deity. It merely represents the amorous play of nymph and satyr (Fig. 22).³⁶

In addition quite a few odd references to ancient art can be recorded in the works of this period, not necessarily referring to monuments in Venice. Thus the strangely suspended Andromeda in the painting of the Wallace collection (Fig. 29) may be best explained as a derivation from the dying daughter of Niobe, held by her anxious tutor, on Roman sarcophagi (Fig. 31).³⁷ The ancient Nereids, too, still interest Titian. At least I think that the conspicuous posture of Diana in the Callisto stories, of 1559-1560, was developed from just such a Nereid; the attending nymph replaced the sea monster, on which the figure rode in its original setting.³⁸

The number of these examples—freely creative revivals rather than copies of ancient art—will probably be increased further if one examines closely the paintings of these years. I should observe, however, that Titian's mastery of the natural model likewise grew noticeably after the Roman journey. Thus I see no need to link the very romantic Actaeon painting from the Bridgewater collection with any definite prototype of ancient art. Yet the reclining nymph to the left was posed much like the Gaul lying on his back in Venice.³⁹ It is clear that in Titian's art of these years life becomes tinged with his vision of classical figures, and that more and more the painted memories of nature and those of the classical monuments become interchangeable. Therefore one must not

32. For both statues—Roman copies from Hellenistic originals, probably forming part of a group of fighting and conquered Gauls—and their history during the Renaissance, cf. A. Grünwald, *op.cit.*, p. 148; Anti, *op.cit.*, pp. 97f., nos. VIII, 2-3. Titian's *Laurentius*: Tietze, II, fig. 218.

33. Tietze, I, p. 188 and pl. 22.

34. *ibid.*, II, p. 321.

35. *ibid.*, fig. 225; Figure of Moses and kneeling patriarch in the foreground to the right; the face of the latter seems fashioned after the Laocoon.

36. *Adonis*, Prado: Tietze, II, fig. 229; cf. Titian's letter to Phillip II, of 1554, Tietze, I, p. 214. *Ara Grimani*: Anti, *op.cit.*, pp. 79ff. no. VI, 19. Date of arrival in Venice unknown; the *Ara* formed part of the collection of Cardinal Giovanni Grimani (nephew of Cardinal Domenico), which was kept in the Pal. Grimani near Sta. Maria Formosa, until it fell to the city by legacy, in 1586. The similarity between this monument and Titian's paintings was already noticed by J. Strzygowski, "Das Werden des Barock bei Raphael und

Correggio," Strasbourg, 1898, p. 108. I think that the same ancient model also underlies the *Venus* by Veronese, in the Holmes collection, Boston (*Bollettino d'Arte*, XXIX, 1935-36, p. 255, fig. 11).

37. Andromeda: Tietze, II, fig. 230. I submit that the same daughter of Niobe also provided the prototype for Lorenzo Lotto's *Chastity*, in the painting of the Villa Borghese, which B. Berenson described so elegantly in his recent article on Lorenzo Lotto, *Art News*, LII, November, 1953, pp. 24f. What copy of this ancient relief both artists used is another question. The sarcophagus, Anti, *op.cit.*, p. 138, no. x, 7, for all we know was not in Venice during the Renaissance. It came to that city in 1816; its earliest known location was Rome, Villa Borghese. However, it may have been known to artists of the Cinquecento; cf. C. Robert, "Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs," III, 3, Berlin, 1919, p. 383, no. 316 and n. 1.

38. "Diana and Callisto," London, Bridgewater Gallery and Vienna, Kunstmuseum: Tietze, II, figs. 234, 235.

39. *ibid.*, fig. 232.

be too much surprised at the discovery that the splendidly invented figure of the abducted Europa, in Boston, in fact represents a feminine version of the same reclining Gaul. In this painting a reminiscence of the Cupid "by Phidias," also, from the altar of Saint Peter the Martyr, has returned to the sky.⁴⁰ These types now appear in Titian's paintings like long familiar characters, treated with growing freedom but unforgettable and never forgotten.

SIXTH PERIOD: CA. 1560-1576

If one only examines Titian's choice of ancient monuments, he would hardly feel a need of setting aside the works of Titian's last fifteen or sixteen years as a special group. Not many classical quotations appear in them which had not been used before. Titian was now getting along in years and bent on drawing the summary of his experiences rather than experimenting with new material. But his interest in classical art persisted, and indeed intensified. Classical references in the paintings of this period become increasingly numerous, including reminiscences of all his former periods.

The most conspicuous addition to the statistics of ancient monuments which he probably studied, are two Roman cameos. In the art of Titian this indeed seems to be a new interest. There is the barest possibility that a cameo might already have furnished the source of those earlier figures which were fashioned after the ancient Orestes composition. For we know that a cameo of this type was in existence and occasionally imitated by artists of the sixteenth century.⁴¹ Yet its figures are rather summarily drawn, and for this reason I believe it more likely that Titian's copies were made from a sarcophagus. Around 1560, however, his interest in cameos is quite apparent. A good case can be made for Fischel's observation, that the white horse in the foreground of the *Adoration* in Madrid was actually designed from an ancient engraved stone.⁴² We shall meet with another example presently.

More important, it seems to me, is to point out that if Titian during his last period re-used his favorite antiques he usually handled them with the most sovereign freedom and, in that respect, with a quite new attitude. Thus the later version of the *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence*, in the Escorial (Fig. 27), again shows the Saint in the posture of the Gaul lying on his back (Fig. 24). But now the figure is much more thoroughly integrated with the flickering effects of Titian's later color style. Here, too, the pair of Cupid-angels (Fig. 15), one of which Ridolfi had called a Cupid "by Phidias," re-appears in the sky.⁴³

Once more, by this time, the transformation of statuary into a true painting must have appeared a worthwhile task to Titian. His later works include some extremely brilliant solutions of this problem, such as the *Sebastian* in Leningrad (Fig. 28), whose stance copies the *Apollo Belvedere* (Fig. 26), combined with a suffering face perhaps inspired by one of the sons of Laocoon.⁴⁴ These images are neither flesh nor stone; they seem withdrawn from all material experience, existing only as shapes or dematerialized memories in the restless, weightless, fluffy and velvety world of colors. Incidentally, pictorial quotations from the *Apollo Belvedere* appear to be another innovation of this period in the art of Titian. I think the *Christ Transfigured* in the church of San Salvatore, also of ca. 1560, was drawn from the same statute.⁴⁵ The artist's interest in statuary definitely increases during his last years. I wonder where he found the inspiration for the wonderful figure of Saint Magdalene in the left of the unfinished *Pietà* now belonging to the Academy of Venice (Fig. 30). There is a quite statuesque feeling of strength about this saint who cries out

40. Tietze, fig. 231. The "Cupid," this time really a winged love god, is shown as swooping from the sky like a bird of prey: Titian drew his cast of the ancient statue upside down.

41. G. Lippold, "Gemmen und Kameen des Altertums und der Neuzeit," Stuttgart, s.d., pl. 44, no. 6. Cf. the Orestes-Cameo rendered as architectural decoration in Ger. David's *Judgment of Cambyzes*, of ca. 1498: A. Janssens de Bisthoven and R. A. Parmentier, *Le Musée communale de Bruges*

[*Les Primitives flamands, Fasc. 1-4*], Brussels, 1951, no. 5 and pl. 21.

42. O. Fischel, *Amtl. Berichte der Berliner Museen*, xxix, 1917, pp. 59f.

43. Tietze, II, fig. 265.

44. *ibid.*, fig. 271.

45. *ibid.*, fig. 241.

into the world while the mute drama of sorrow is going on beside her. She much resembles the so-called *Anchirrhoe* (Fig. 32), which when first discovered was held to be a daughter of Niobe. At any rate, I think that the figure had an ancient antecedent; but the possibility that Titian found it on a Roman sarcophagus, not a statue, also cannot be quite excluded.⁴⁶

For the sarcophagi still held the attention of Titian, as we may infer from the frightened Saint Margaret in the Prado, likewise a work of the incredibly productive years around 1565. Certainly this image of anguish, fright and miraculous salvation includes a classical element—a reminiscence of the Bacchus-Orestes in its whirling haste.⁴⁷

There are also the two Entombments in the Prado, dating from the same period, although the compositional idea incorporated in them may have been conceived as early as 1556. Indeed one recognizes in this composition an iconographic scheme of old standing in Renaissance art, with a distinguished pedigree reaching from Giotto's *Lamentation* to Donatello's relief in Padua; Titian modernized it, by showing the sorrowful group at an angle. Thereby he also dramatized the scene in a novel way. The important point here is that he can hardly have painted the figure of St. Magdalene as he did, with hands thrown back in sheer horror, without having known the real origin of this motif which was first invented, not in Renaissance but in classical art, although similar figures form part of many Renaissance renditions of this scene, beginning with the days of Giotto and the Pisani. At any rate the posture of Titian's *St. Magdalene* harks back to the Roman sarcophagi with the death of Meleager. We must assume that Titian was aware of this connection. His figure looks as if it had been drawn from the ancient prototype directly, not from any of the intermediaries.⁴⁸

The so-called *Education of Cupid* in the Villa Borghese (Fig. 34), a work of the same years, confronts us with an even stranger problem. I compare the left half of this composition, the mother between the two Cupids, to Michelangelo's tondo in Florence (Fig. 33), which represents the Madonna between the children, Christ and Saint John.⁴⁹ In this case, Titian's inspiration came from contemporary art. But did he know that Michelangelo's composition, in turn, was a re-statement of the ancient group of Phaedra, in the famous Hippolytus sarcophagus at Pisa? The question is further complicated by the fact that in the version painted by Titian a memory of a Venetian monument, also, may be implied. The way Venus turns to the second Cupid, who leans against her shoulder, has its closest counterpart in the group of the seated Nymph conversing with the young Satyr behind her, in the already-mentioned *Ara Grimani* (Fig. 37). I cannot regard this similarity a mere coincidence.⁵⁰

Finally, for one more instance of this completely free use of ancient art by Titian, I refer to the famous painting in Vienna, the *Shepherd with Reclining Nymph* (Fig. 35). This, too, is a late work, around 1570. I explained elsewhere why I believe that the subject is not a simple mythology but has allegorical connotations.⁵¹ I now suggest that in creating this composition, likewise, Titian's thought started from an ancient monument. The prototype was a Roman cameo which shows a nymph from the back, reclining on an animal skin, just as does the nymph in Titian's canvas (Fig. 36). The flute-playing shepherd is also present in the cameo, though differently rendered. We see that by way of this connection Titian's painting was invested with the idyllic

46. *ibid.*, fig. 288. For drawings of the *Anchirrhoe*, see E. Mandowsky, "Some Notes on the Early History of the Medicean Niobides," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XLI, 1953, pp. 260ff. and figs. 4, 5. The drawings by Pierre Jacques, *ibid.*, fig. 4, are about contemporary with Titian's painting. The statue was then in the collection of Cardinal Della Valle. If Titian used this prototype, he changed the position of arms and legs from left to right.

47. Tietze, II, fig. 243.

48. The two versions of the *Entombment* in the Prado, of 1559 and ca. 1565, respectively: Tietze, II, figs. 255, 256; I,

pp. 221f. For the antecedents of the compositional scheme see A. Bush-Brown, above, note 10. Donatello's relief is well illustrated in L. Goldscheider, *Donatello*, New York, 1941, pl. 110.

49. *op.cit.*, II, fig. 252. Michelangelo's tondo: L. Goldscheider, *The Sculptures of Michelangelo*, New York, 1940, pl. 45.

50. Hippolytus Sarcophagus: C. Robert, *op.cit.* For the *Ara Grimani*, see above, note 36.

51. Tietze, II, fig. 287. Cf. O. Brendel, *ART BULLETIN*, XXIX, 1947, p. 69.

spirit of a Hellenistic fantasy. But the old master neither copied nor in a true sense imitated, the classical monument. He just seized upon the ancient composition as something worth preserving, and he took the liberty of recasting it in one of the most beautiful paintings which ever came from Venice.⁵²

CONCLUSION

In the incessant development of Titian's art, the classical element emerges as a constantly present and active factor. He possessed an intuitive understanding of the ancient monuments with which he had contact, and a keen intelligence of the possibilities hidden in an ancient motif. These possibilities he realized by consciously reshaping—not necessarily copying faithfully—the classical models which he incorporated in his own work. The most conspicuous fact about his borrowings from ancient art is that the freedom with which Titian employed them increased with the years.

It seems only fair to say that Titian's attitude towards his classical models expresses his personal interpretation of ancient art. Certainly he shows little concern for historical criticism or archaeological correctness. But neither is there much evidence that he was interested in ancient art as an example of naturalism. Rather, he showed himself receptive to the formal qualities of ancient art. In that respect, he shared the taste of his contemporaries. His appreciation of the classical monuments for their formal values obviously falls in line with the search for a monumental style or "grand manner," which the High Renaissance wished to embody, especially, in the human image. This trend becomes apparent early in his work, and culminates in the large figure compositions of his middle period like the *Death of Saint Peter the Martyr*, of 1528. But more important even than the formalism of ancient art, in Titian's interpretation of it, is the emotional meaning. Obviously many of his ancient prototypes, and indeed the most striking examples, were selected with an eye to their expressiveness in terms of gesture and movement. This is the reason why Titian can feel so free, not only to transform ancient motifs into his own pictorial style, but to use the classical forms in a context entirely foreign to their original destination. In his later style, and particularly the paintings after 1560 where the natural shapes begin to dissolve in dimmer lights and sharper contrasts, the violence of emotional expression grows in proportion with the power of formal integration. The more the years go on the more one senses this active, almost deliberate disregard of the authentic destination of his ancient models, in the way in which Titian refashioned them, and transplanted them into wholly new compositions. Not the desire to live up to the standards of another style prompted his borrowings from ancient art. He mostly revived in his own work one aspect of ancient art to which he was supremely sensitive: its inherent expressionism.

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52. Actually the thematic idea may hark back to Giorgione: cf. Brendel, preceding footnote. The ancient cameo: G. Lipold, *loc.cit.*, pl. 18, no. 5. Whether the same cameo was al-

ready known to the Giorgione circle it is, of course, useless to speculate. Giorgione's painting did not survive.



EDGAR DEGAS AND THE BELLELLIS

JEAN S. BOGGS

EDGAR DEGAS, as a young man, was inspired by one Italian family, the Bellellis, to paint the portrait which was certainly the triumph of the earliest part of his career and one of the masterpieces of his lifetime. This was *The Bellelli Family*, now in the Musée de l'Impressionnisme in Paris. In addition to this work and the numerous sketches made in preparation for it, Degas painted four portraits of the two Bellelli daughters, Giovanna and Giuliana: two single portraits in 1856, a double portrait in 1857, which he never finished, and another double portrait from the early sixties which is now in the Los Angeles County Museum. These paintings are so closely related and so interesting in the psychological awareness which they reveal that an examination of them separately will contribute to our understanding of this painter's work.

Degas was related to the Bellellis.¹ The baroness was his father's sister, Laure, born, like all her generation of the De Gas,² in Naples. The baron was a Neapolitan friend and supporter of Cavour, and was exiled over his participation in the Revolution of 1848; but later, with the establishment of the Kingdom of Italy in 1860, he became a senator. His exile seems to have begun in Paris³ but it ended in Florence, where he remained until it became the capital of a united Italy. The Bellellis had two daughters, the fair, blue-eyed Giovanna and the brown-haired, black-eyed Giuliana, as well as a son, Giovanni, for whose death as an infant they were in mourning from 1860 to 1862.⁴ From letters in the possession of the De Gas family and from the notebooks they gave to the Bibliothèque Nationale, Lemoisne has been able to reconstruct something of Degas' experiences with these Italian relatives.

Degas probably met the Bellellis for the first time when they fled to France in 1850, accompanied by his grandfather, René-Hilaire De Gas.⁵ The Bellelli girls, if born, could have been only babies then.⁶ On Degas' short trips to Italy in 1854 and 1855 he may have encountered the family again.⁷ In 1856 he did see his cousins at least and probably his aunt, in Naples, where they could visit although his exiled uncle could not. He made the two individual portraits of the girls and inscribed one later: "Nini Bellelli, Naples, 1856."

The next year Degas must have spent some time in Florence with the Bellellis for there are many drawings, largely copies, inscribed: "Flor. 1857."⁸ He was very busy with his self-education that prolific year,⁹ but he did take time to produce a sketch of a niece of the baron upon which he wrote: "Flor 1857 Mlle Dembowsky";¹⁰ and he seems to have worked upon a double portrait of Giovanna and Giuliana which he never finished. Nevertheless it was 1858 before he settled in the Bellelli home with the family portrait as his aim.

On July 24, 1858, after a spring in Rome, Degas journeyed through the hill towns on his way to Florence, which he reached sometime about the beginning of August.¹¹ His avowed intention

1. Unless otherwise stated, my source will be P. A. Lemoisne, *Degas et son œuvre*, 4 vols., Paris, 1946, to which I am heavily indebted, as anyone working on Degas must be. In referring to works the author has catalogued, I shall use the abbreviation L. with the number.

2. The painter changed the spelling of his name to Degas from De Gas. The rest of the family used the older form.

3. Jeanne Fevre, *Mon Oncle Degas*, Geneva, 1949, p. 20.

4. *Catalogue des peintures et sculptures exposées au Musée de l'Impressionnisme*, Paris, 1947, p. 30.

5. Fevre, *op.cit.*, p. 20.

6. As far as I can discover their birth dates have never been published.

7. Lemoisne, *op.cit.*, pp. 16, 17; defended by B.N. carnet D.C. 327 D, pp. 110, 111.

8. See *Catalogue des tableaux, pastels et dessins par Degas et provenant de son atelier*, 4^e vente, Paris, 1919: nos. 74b, 97b, 98a, 101d, 103a, b, 107a, 116d, 122d, 130a.

9. 1857 was the year he produced and dated L 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 33, and the prints listed by L. Delteil, *Edgar Degas, le peintre-graveur illustré*, Paris, 1919, as 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. In addition there are many dated drawings.

10. *Catalogue des tableaux*, no. 98a.

11. There is a record of this journey in B.N. carnet D.C. 327 P, pp. 49-97.

was merely to visit the Bellellis for a few days on his way to Paris. However his aunt and cousins were in Naples with his dying grandfather, René-Hilaire De Gas; and his uncle persuaded him to wait for their return. It was not until the end of August or the beginning of September that René-Hilaire died¹² and considerably longer before things could be settled so that his aunt could come back to Florence; so the painter's stay there was further prolonged. There is curiously little documented work from this period of delay, little to suggest that Degas had been as active here as he had been a year earlier. He made one portrait drawing of the baron's sister, Mme Dembowski, whose daughter he had sketched the summer before,¹³ but the evidence of any dated activity is slight.

Even after his aunt and cousins returned, Degas remained. When his father had waited four months for his son he angrily wrote on November 11: "Dans ma dernière lettre, je te priais de ne plus retarder ton retour. Je te le répète aujourd'hui et même je recommande de faire tes paquets aussitôt réception de la présente."¹⁴ From Auguste De Gas' letter two weeks later it seems that Edgar had written that he must stay to finish a portrait of his aunt. By November 30 the father was thoroughly discouraged, since he realized that the presence of the painter's friend, Gustav Moreau, in Florence would keep him even longer. By December 29 he was reconciled to the fact that his son had begun a large oil which he did not expect to finish until February 29. Finally, after nine months with the Bellellis, Degas returned to Paris at the beginning of April, to a studio he had asked his family to find, one big enough for work on a large canvas for exhibition, probably *The Bellelli Family*. In 1860 he again went to Florence where he made some further studies like the dated drawing of the baron in the Louvre.¹⁵ Presumably he finished the painting when he returned to Paris in the same year.¹⁶

From 1856 to 1860, as Degas came to know his Bellelli relatives better, as he saw them at his grandfather's in Naples or stayed with them in Florence, he responded to their separate personalities and to the atmosphere of their home. As he became aware of them individually and together he made sketches in his notebooks or attempted paintings of them. The earlier ones do not seem to have been intended as studies for a projected group portrait. Rather it seems that *The Bellelli Family* grew gradually out of the painter's increasing consciousness of his cousins, his uncle, and his aunt.

When Degas worked upon the two tiny portraits of his Bellelli cousins while he was visiting his grandfather in Naples in 1856 he probably never dreamed of eventually producing the large family portrait. He merely tenderly and unpretentiously painted two heads, but with an awareness already of the differences in the personalities of these two sisters, so close to each other in age. The fair Giovanna, in the canvas bought for the Louvre from the De Gas family in Naples (Fig. 1),¹⁷ seems pure spirit in her pose, in the decided slope of her frail shoulders, the delicate features, the ghost-like whiteness and mistiness of the face from which large, soft blue eyes emerge. Even the white dress seems part of this aura of vague innocence. In the other portrait (Fig. 2), once in the Degas collection,¹⁸ the younger Giuliana's more clearly defined head is placed at an angle on broader, squarer shoulders. Her features are perhaps a little coarser and certainly more distinct.

12. Lemoisne, *op.cit.*, 1, p. 29 says René-Hilaire De Gas died at the beginning of September; Fevre, *op.cit.*, p. 20 says August.

13. Marcel Guérin, "Remarques sur les portraits de famille peints par Degas," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Paris, 1928, p. 371. Also *Catalogue de la succession de M. René de Gas*, Paris, 1927, no. 7. It has an inscription, "Madame Dembowski, sœur de mon oncle Bellelli, Florence, 1858."

14. Lemoisne, *op.cit.*, 1, p. 30, publishes excerpts from a letter of November 11, 1858, owned by R. Nepveu de Gas.

15. Other drawings dated that year: in Florence, *Catalogue des tableaux*, nos. 85b, c, 91, 93a; in Naples, *ibid.*, 86c. Lemoisne, *op.cit.*, p. 32, tells us that he went to Italy that year to bring his two sisters back to Paris.

16. There has been some question about the exact date of this painting. Marcel Guérin, when he compiled the catalogue for a Degas exhibition in 1924 (*Catalogue of the Exposition Degas, Galeries Georges Petit*, Paris, 1924) believed, like Jamot (Paul Jamot, "Degas [1834-1917]," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, June, 1918, pp. 123-66), that it had been painted between 1860 and 1862. Later (Marcel Guérin, "Remarques sur des portraits de famille peints par Degas," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Paris, June, 1928, p. 371) he decided that it was probably painted by 1859. Lemoisne (L. 79) still believes it was finished between 1860 and 1862.

17. *Catalogue des peintures*, *op.cit.*, no. 47, p. 29.

18. Present owner unknown. See L. 19.

Her brows arch more decisively over the dark, almost oriental eyes, which, like the dress, provide some contrast with the face. Her lips are fuller, not so withdrawn, and somewhat more petulant. She is altogether more animal, less spiritual, and perhaps a little unhappier. Thus Degas responded to the differences in the sitters' personalities at this early date; but his awareness of these nuances was to tantalize him for some time to come.

When Degas visited the Bellellis in Florence the next year, 1857, he made many casual sketches of them in a notebook which is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale.¹⁹ In these the mother has a smaller waist²⁰ and her daughters shorter hair²¹ than they were to possess a year and a half later. Although the baroness does occasionally appear in the notebook with Giovanna and Giuliana, Degas seems to have been more interested in his cousins. Most of the sketches (Fig. 4) were in preparation for the double portrait of them (Fig. 7) which he never finished. Probably the painter's father referred to this picture in the winter of 1858-1859 when he suggested that his brother-in-law, the baron Bellelli, had been displeased with Edgar for not having finished some earlier work.²² However incomplete this large canvas may be, it is still important as Degas' first attempt to paint any members of the Bellelli family together.

In painting his cousins Degas was interested in contrasting their personalities rather than in showing any physical or psychological relationship between them, as other nineteenth century painters like Whistler or Fantin-Latour might have done. Instead of representing them convincingly engaged in some common pursuit, like sewing or playing the piano or standing arm in arm, Degas used the formal device of certain Renaissance painters²³ in placing the sisters frontally, side by side, apparently unconcerned with each other. He went even further by making them look outside the picture so that, even if they are physically close, the attention of each has its own focus. He was no more interested in their natural relationship to their environment than he had been in their relationship to each other. Although, if he had finished the painting, he would certainly have described the setting more fully, there is no indication that the Bellelli sisters' part in it would have been any more convincing. He was sufficiently interested in the personalities of Giuliana and Giovanna to want to concentrate upon them by isolating them from the distractions of their habitual *milieu*.

Every study Degas made of Giovanna and Giuliana that summer indicates recognition of the differences between the two sisters. Giovanna stands almost frontally, with her left hand primly folded over her right, in each sketch, drawing or painting. It is as if Degas had almost immediately found a pose which characterized her serene self-possession and which, in the pictorial form produced a calm monumentality much like the work of Piero della Francesca.²⁴ She may face to the right or to the left but Degas' conception of her with a sweet, bland face, a little like Bronzino's *Lucrezia Panciatichi* in the Uffizi,²⁵ remains remarkably constant.

Giuliana was probably a livelier model than her sister. In one early notebook sketch (Fig. 3), where Giovanna stands solemnly in the same pose beside her seated mother, Giuliana props herself on the rung of her mother's chair and balances herself playfully on the top of it. Degas discarded this arrangement, however. Instead he drew her with her head bent and her eyelids lowered, a pose which is quiet enough but still more unconventional than her sister's. In a charcoal drawing in the Louvre (Fig. 6) Degas developed this interpretation of her by merely lifting her head and redraw-

19. *B.N. carnet D.C.* 327 O.

20. e.g. see plate 8.

21. Hair is bobbed and rather untidy in Louvre drawings RF 15525, RF 1870, 15483; *B.N. carnet D.C.* 327 O, pp. 52, 59, 60, 61, 63, 64, 65; L. 65.

22. Lemoisne, *op.cit.*, p. 32.

23. Degas had made a copy of a double portrait of two men in the Louvre, attributed to Giovanni Bellini or Vincenzo Catena. See John Walker, "Degas et les maitres anciens,"

Gazette des Beaux-Arts, vol. 10, 1933, p. 178.

24. Degas probably knew Piero's work in 1857. We know that the next year on a trip between Rome and Florence, begun July 24, 1858, he stopped at Arezzo to see the frescos. *B.N. carnet D.C.* 327, p. 49.

25. Degas at this time seems to have been attracted by Bronzino. He copied a *Portrait of a Girl* in the Uffizi in the same notebook as the one in which he made most of the sketches for *The Bellelli Family*. *B.N. carnet D.C.* 327 O, p. 43.

ing her mouth. She has become somewhat more aware, but her youth and vulnerability remain in the soft, uncertain contours of her slightly opened lips. With a stroke of white chalk Degas veiled the lower part of her eye, giving her a quietly pensive expression. Giuliana is a person who is involved in her own world and unconcerned with ours.

In juxtaposing the personalities of the two sisters in preliminary studies at a time when he presumably considered a double portrait feasible, Degas indicated again and again that he realized that the parents were inevitably involved. A sketch of Giovanna alone (Fig. 5) will have a line which suggests the protective arm of her mother, as we find it eventually in *The Bellelli Family*; she seems to need to stand quietly by the baroness for support.²⁶ The younger sister's ties are with her father. Usually emerging behind her profile is his bearded face (Fig. 4). His arm is often behind her shoulder. Even in the painting (Fig. 7) the ghost-like form of his head and hand appears, for, independent as Giuliana was, she was closely attached to the baron Bellelli. The sisters not only differed but differed in their orientation within the family.

Before his 1857 visit to the Bellellis ended Degas made a quick sketch in a notebook he had been using for his studies of the sisters (Fig. 9).²⁷ Giovanna and Giuliana are farther apart and placed in front of the table with their mother between them and with their father, leaning over the table to the right, nearest to Giuliana. This drawing, cursory as it is, shows that Degas' interest in the sisters had expanded to an interest in the family when he realized that the key to his cousins' personalities rested there. In this sketch Giovanna had already assumed the provocative pose found in *The Bellelli Family*, with her head in the profile position Degas had always preferred. Giovanna stands quietly, her mother's hand on her shoulder. These three positions, with slight alterations, will persist into the finished painting. And even though the father faces us in this initial drawing, the spacing between him and the rest of the family will be retained. The family portrait was emerging from Degas' earlier interest in his Bellelli cousins.

When Degas approached Florence the next year, 1858, he must have hoped that something would keep him there to work on the family portrait. In one of his notebooks,²⁸ perhaps after he had left the Bellellis in 1857 or when he was waiting for his aunt to come back to Florence in 1858, he had planned another scheme for it with a few changes in composition, the most surprising of which is that his uncle's back is now toward us (Fig. 10). Degas also introduced the mantelpiece with the clock and some vague area of light to the left. Although the arrangement is altogether more vertical than the final work, this drawing was one more step toward its realization.

Degas' anxiety about this project helps explain the stubborn resistance of this usually dutiful son to his father's entreaties in the fall of 1858. Although he told his father he was delayed because he was at work on a portrait of his aunt, none is known of her except for the exquisite pencil drawings²⁹ which were certainly prepared for the final painting. Perhaps Degas hoped that brotherly affection for the baroness would make his father forgive the length of his stay in Florence. Lemoisne tells us that the painter was fond of his aunt,³⁰ which is probably true, although Lemoisne does not give his sources. Degas may have admired her proud dignity in the face of her husband's revolutionary activities and exile, of her father's illness and death the summer of 1858, and of her pregnancy. However deep that admiration and affection were, however, her children, particularly Giovanna, seem to have directed his artist's eyes toward her.

The baron Bellelli seems to have been as inevitably brought into the painting through Giuliana as the mother was through Giovanna. His life at this period must have been one of frustration. Degas' father, in writing to his son, warned him to be sure to finish the painting he was working on

26. In the painting owned by Seligmann (plate 4) the baroness is probably the tiny figure seen at the left through the doorway.

27. *B.N. carnet D.C.* 327 O, p. 64.

28. *ibid.*, 327 P, p. 97.

29. Louvre collection: RF 11689, 016583, R 1870, 016582. Also L. 66.

30. Lemoisne, *op.cit.*, p. 29.

and not to give "ton oncle Bellelli un juste sujet de mécontentement."³¹ This makes Lemoisne's statement, "Les difficultés de la vie rendaient parfois son humeur inégale,"³² seem just. Probably his younger daughter seemed one of life's few compensations.

Degas, having committed himself to paint this portrait of the whole Bellelli family, went to work at it quite systematically. He had already decided upon the general character of the composition, but he then developed it more thoroughly in a pastel now in the Hansen collection in Copenhagen.³³ His greatest interest here was in the tonal organization, in which the black and white of the mother and daughter would be contrasted with the light ground whereas the father would merge with the middle gray to the right. He also drew his uncle so that he would not lean over as interestedly as in the preliminary sketch but would withdraw rather proudly from the others. A picture was introduced into the background to pull the group more closely together. But the most forceful change was in the strengthening of the diagonal movement of the baroness's left arm. All these devices make the scheme a more expressive one.

There are other studies for *The Bellelli Family*, for instance, the oil sketch of his aunt and cousins,³⁴ a study in values which Degas probably never intended to finish. And there are many drawings of details. Of the baroness, for example, there is in the Louvre a pencil drawing of her head, a drawing which seems in the spirit of the sixteenth century.³⁵ In it Degas achieves a suggestion both of nobility and a slight unhappiness. The other studies of her, also in the Louvre, are more prosaic, such as the sketch which is merely an excuse for a study of the scarf which she wears in the finished painting. Degas painted her right hand,³⁶ and even before this had made a soft pencil drawing of it,³⁷ upon which he wrote with characteristic care: "La main fait une crevasse le linge." Both works show an interest in gesture which goes far beyond Degas' earliest portraits, in which the hands had often been merely embarrassing terminations.³⁸ These studies were only a small part of his meticulous preparations.

In such sketches Degas strengthened and clarified his earlier interpretations of the members of the Bellelli family. Giovanna was the simplest problem, since he had found an appropriate position and expression for her from the beginning. Giuliana, however, demanded more study than her sister. One of the most finished examples is the gouache drawing of her full figure in the Dumbarton Oaks collection, in which her position is the same as it is in the large painting (Fig. 11). The pose must have been one which Giuliana often assumed, which perfectly expressed, in the energetic twist of the body and head, the crossed leg, and the hands pressed cockily back from the waist, the kind of conscious indifference which Degas wanted to indicate. Its realization required study so that, beside other drawings of the body itself, there are even sketches of her shoes and her feet.³⁹ The result is a pose both informal and expressive, which marks the appearance of a new awareness of the body in Degas' portraiture.

The studies of the baron Bellelli probably came last, since one in the Louvre is dated 1860. Even in the preliminary composition, three years earlier, where he faces us, his shoulders are hunched disconsolately over the table. Degas' eventual solution was to have him sit with his back toward us in a position in which there is a certain dignity and reserve. His personal vanity is revealed in the way the hair is drawn over his bald pate, and his coat slipping down from his rounded shoulders suggests his basic discouragement.⁴⁰ "L'air renfrogné du chef de famille dans le fauteuil où il s'enfonce, le brusque mouvement qui remonte ses épaules, sa tête massive aux cheveux rares et roux,

31. *ibid.*, p. 29 from a letter of January 4, 1859, belonging to R. Nepveu-De Gas.

32. *ibid.*, p. 29.

33. L. 64, Hansen collection, Copenhagen.

34. L. 63, owner unknown.

35. Louvre drawing RF 11689.

36. L. 66, Mlle Fevre, Nice.

37. Louvre RF 016583.

38. L. 5, 6, 33, 60.

39. Louvre 016584.

40. Degas studied the chair as well as the man. It changed shape several times before, in the Louvre drawing 16586, it reached its final form.

sont des traits de vérité qu'on est plus accoutumé de voir dans une scène de genre que dans un portrait, surtout un portrait que sa dimension même et la sévérité de son ordonnance élèvent à la plus haute hiérarchie de l'art."⁴¹

Sometime during his stay with the Bellellis Degas probably began to work upon the canvas itself but, from the evidence of the 1860 drawing of the baron, he must have painted a large part of it in Paris on his return. It was in this final period of work on the painting that Degas explored and analyzed the emotional relationships between the various members of the Bellelli Family.

When we first see *The Bellelli Family* (Fig. 8) in the Musée de l'Impressionnisme it is apt to represent for our generation, nostalgically, the security of the nineteenth century home. Here is a dignified middle-class family, virtuously in mourning, painted in its drawing room. A dog, a newspaper, a basket of mending and a bassinet further testify to respectability. Even the scale of the painting, so large that the figures are approximately life-size, is somehow reassuring. We are ready to be enchanted with the ingredients of the setting, lovingly to absorb the candles, the clock, the books on the mantelpiece; the painting, opened door and chandelier, reflected in the mirror; and the soft blue wallpaper, the bell-pull and the chalk portrait of Degas' father on the wall; prosaic details out of which the painter created the atmosphere of a bourgeois living room. The light also carries us dreamily back to the past. It is dappled by the flowered wallpaper, the spotted rug and the broken reflections of the mirror. Most of it comes from one source: the opened door we can see in the mirror. Where it does not penetrate, on the upper part of the wall, in the left hand corner of the room or under the furniture, there are dusky shadows which make it more positive still. However, it always remains the quiet light of a dimly lit room, a room seemingly remembered from our nineteenth century past.

Within this convincing, atmosphere-filled sitting room Degas has placed the four members of the Bellelli family in positions which they might have assumed individually but never as a group. The arrangement is so clearly conventionalized and so pleasantly geometrical, rationalized as an intersection of triangles against a rectilinear background, that we are again assuaged and think, inevitably and reassuringly, of Ingres. Degas seems to be translating one of Ingres' most formal portrait drawings into a painting; but, as soon as we remember Ingres, we become aware of discords within *The Bellelli Family*. Particularly, as many have pointed out,⁴² it would have offended Ingres' sense of propriety to place the baron Bellelli with his back toward us and at an angle which destroys the order of the rest of the room. Still, although the lack of harmony among the four may destroy our illusions of an idyllic nineteenth century past, it quickens our curiosity about the Bellelli family. The man, his wife and their daughters cease to be symbols and become human beings. And as we become conscious of the Bellellis as people we become aware of underlying tensions, frictions and emotional ties, which make the group portrait faintly disturbing and which are probably the real subject matter of the painting.

We may realize next that Degas has emphasized the distance between husband and wife. The baron is almost indistinguishable in tone from the fireplace behind him, whereas the black dresses and the hair of the mother and daughters are strongly silhouetted against a light wall. The vertical of the right table leg, the mantelpiece and mirror provide an upright barrier between his aunt and uncle which no linear movement penetrates. If one's eyes follow the darkest areas of the picture they are drawn up vertically at the left, then down through the heavy shape of the baroness's dress, through Giuliana's, to the large chair upon which the baron sits, and up to the clock and ornaments on the mantel, tending to disregard the man and finding no link between him and his wife. And if one follows the lights one finds they form an arc through the drawings on the wall, the baroness's face, the children's heads and pinafores, even to the reflected open door in the mirror, with some

41. Paul Jamot, "Degas," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1918, p. 151.

42. e.g., Lemoisne, *op.cit.*, 1, p. 35; John Rewald, *The History of Impressionism*, New York, 1946, p. 49.

tantalizing play with objects on the mantelpiece; but again they largely miss the father and further estrange him from the baroness. Finally the glances of husband and wife do not even graze each other. Certainly Degas, who never sketched his aunt and uncle together, did not intend to suggest that this was a happy union.

Degas was also interested in the role of Giuliana in this family. The role of her sister standing placidly beside her mother, unaware of the others and perhaps a little apprehensive, had always been clear. But Giuliana from the first had been linked frequently with Giovanna, occasionally with her mother, and often with her father. In some ways she was independent but she did possess ties with all three and particularly close ones with the baron Bellelli. She is placed critically on the canvas, almost in the dead center of it as a link between the left and right hand sides, in a pose which the nineteenth century might have found daring. Her head and shoulders are the only interruption in the telling gap between her mother and father. Her face is like a younger repetition of her mother's in feature and position. Her father, rather humbly, seems to have turned to look at her, but her eyes are downcast so that she misses his glance.⁴³ Altogether she seems to have been the pivot around which family feelings revolved.

The baroness Bellelli actually dominates the painting by sheer physical and spiritual force, perhaps some justification for Degas' excuse to his father that he was working on a portrait of her. She is imposing in scale, bulk, and in the strong, compact contours of her body. Her magnificently austere head, held so proudly high, with its haughtily arched brows, seems so sure compared with her husband's hesitancy, Giuliana's uncertainty, and Giovanna's timidity, that it attracts us with a kind of moral power. Degas makes use of the hands to characterize her more fully. The left is pressed down on the table in a gesture which suggests a certain amount of disdain but which is also physically necessary to balance her pregnant body. The baroness seems to have been the spiritual backbone of this unhappy household.

The effect of the arrangement of the figures upon us is something like a tableau. We accept its artificiality and even the pretense, found in the attitudes of everyone but Giovanna, that we do not exist. Degas' means may seem as deceptively conventional as the family itself, but by varying them subtly, understating always, he makes us aware of the complexity of the Bellellis' relationships to one another. In this consciousness of emotional implications, which he suggests with formal and representational means, Degas reveals, even this early, a fundamental expressionism which will become the motivating force in his later work.

It is in the expression of the intricate web of tensions within the Bellelli family that this painting achieves its particular poignancy and its greatness. It is also, in this awareness of the complexity of human problems, strongly suggestive of the novel. The realism and penetration behind it are much like Flaubert's⁴⁴ whose *Mme Bovary* was published in 1857, the year Degas made the first sketch for the painting. Degas may not have known the novel then, and in any case could have been influenced by it only indirectly, but *The Bellelli Family* seems to fit easily into the literary climate of the times.

The Bellelli Family was the climax of the earliest part of Degas' career. It was daring in its ambitious scale and complexity, in the unconventional arrangement, and the honesty of its analysis of relationships within the Bellelli family. Certainly, compared to his previous accomplishments, it was triumphant. However, this painting was apparently never exhibited during his lifetime. Perhaps his desire for authenticity, which went deeper than mere surface appearances and which he achieved with an objectivity unhampered by family affections, made Degas reluctant to display this intimate portrait of the Bellellis when the sitters were still alive.

43. Her chair slants a little in his direction, perhaps another indication of her inclination toward her father.

44. Fevre, *op.cit.*, p. 72 tells us: "Il avait la plus vive ad-

miration pour Flaubert. Il n'y avait pas que ses romans qu'il lisait et relisait avec plaisir; il y avait surtout sa correspondance."

Sometime between 1862 and 1864⁴⁵ Degas painted his cousins again (Fig. 12) presumably on one of his periodic trips to Florence or Naples. This picture is now part of the De Sylva collection in the Los Angeles County Museum. By then the family fortunes should have improved, since the baron was now not an exile but a senator of the new Kingdom of Italy. Nor was the family in mourning any longer, officially at least, for the death of the only son. One might expect Giovanna and Giuliana to have reflected the new security of their lives. And that security may have exhibited itself in their tendency toward a certain coarseness and smugness, which Degas, with a certain melancholy, has discovered and painted.

Since Degas chose for this portrait a canvas of the same shape and almost the same size as his first unfinished double portrait of Giovanna and Giuliana and since he arranged the figures in a similar way, it is tempting to think that he painted this later work from a sense of obligation and guilt because he had never completed the other painting.⁴⁶ It would have been an appropriate gift to the baron and baroness in return for their patience and hospitality, particularly for the nine months of 1858 to 1859. However, if this should have been the reason for the portrait, Degas nevertheless did not give it to the family for, like the large family portrait, it was discovered in his studio at the time of his death.

Degas at first may have merely considered producing a modest head of Giuliana. There are two tiny drawings and the ghost of a painting which show her head turned in a profile position toward the left. In the smallest of these studies (Fig. 16) he gave her features a provocative lilt and her mouth a slight smile. In a slightly fuller study (Fig. 15) he bent her head forward so that she seems heavier, coarser and somewhat sullen. And finally in what little we can see of the painting (Fig. 17) underneath a study for *l'Amateur*, the finished version of which is in the Metropolitan Museum, Degas did lower her eyelids and soften her mouth so that her expression seems gentler and almost pensive. But as he painted and drew Giuliana, Degas must have remembered when she was almost a baby and regretted the solid settling of the jaw, the firmly closed lips, the predatory look in her eyes, the loss of all her wistful innocent charm. Her character had formed since he had painted *The Bellelli Family*.

Having painted Giuliana's head, Degas apparently decided to reverse its position and to make it part of the double portrait with her sister. Again he made some sketches, one of Giuliana with her hand raised against her breast as if she might have been talking,⁴⁷ a gesture he eliminated in the studies of the two together. Gesture did concern him however and in one sketch of the two (Fig. 14) he emphasized Giovanna's hands as almost the focal point of the drawing. Finally, the most developed study in pencil and charcoal (Fig. 13) contains the essence of the composition although Degas did modify it and elaborate upon it.

The composition for this later portrait was obviously based upon the earlier one and could almost have been developed from the same preliminary sketch (Fig. 4). At the same time the poses were those used by contemporary photographers. Since the arrangement is so formalized and the values handled so gradually and descriptively, it could almost have been an interpretation in oil of the daguerreotypes of Degas' day. However, whatever its source, Degas used the composition to isolate the two sisters from their environment so that we can concentrate once more upon their personalities.

Perhaps some key to Degas' meaning may be found by considering this double portrait in relation to earlier studies of the Bellellis. Certainly both had become coarser and more prosaic with

45. A painting of the head of Giovanni is visible, in photographs at least, underneath a study (L. 139), owned by Mlle Guérin at her country house in France, for the Metropolitan Museum's *l'Amateur* (L. 138) which is dated 1866. Therefore the double portrait must have been painted before that date. Since the girls are not in mourning as they were from 1860 to 1862 for their brother and as they must have been

after 1864 for their father and since it is stylistically convincing, one can be quite certain that this work was painted between 1862 and 1864.

46. See note 22.

47. Catalogue des tableaux, no. 89d illustrates this drawing. Its owner is unknown to me.

age. Giuliana, particularly in the final painting, seems heavier in spirit than she did as a child. Giovanna's former serenity seems changed to complacency as her head is lifted, her chin thrust forward, her mouth firm and her gaze defensive. Her hands are still held together, but they have dropped and play endlessly and uncertainly with each other. The years, in coarsening them both, seem to have brought them closer together. On the other hand Degas has contrasted them by such obvious devices as making Giuliana's dress brown and Giovanna's black, emphasizing the younger's dark hair and eyes and dusky complexion and the elder's fairness, by having the first look directly at us and the second away, her head bowed and shadowed. These show us the difference between two rather brooding young girls.

This portrait has received various interpretations. One of the most imaginative is Aline Louchheim's: "The implications in the de Sylva painting are even more provocative. The three-quarter and profile views are juxtaposed and again there is a contrast of the limpid expression of one figure with the troubled, sullen countenance of the other. The additional opposition of light and dark leads to a suggestion of metaphysical dualism, of good and evil. This presumption may not be too far-fetched, for it was in the nineteenth century that such writers as Balzac, Wilde and Stevenson explored the conflicts of good and evil within a single person and investigated the Nemesis of unfettered capitulation to the latter. Surely with Degas these discords are less direct and emphatic. There is no accent of 'Heaven and Hell within each soul,' no Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde parable, nor yet Freudian schizophrenia, but there is a profound awareness in his work of the myriad impulses and warring conflicts which determine the human being. This comprehension, stated almost explicitly in the double portraits, perhaps the same quality which, implicit in the single ones, makes Degas the greatest master of psychological penetration."⁴⁸

Mrs. Louchheim is, of course, mistaken in her assumption that this is one person. It also seems an oversimplification to consider one the expression of good and the other of evil for surely in Giovanna's smugness there is something less than complete purity of spirit and in Giuliana's quiet face by no means a complete manifestation of evil. However, she is right in considering that Degas was contrasting their appearances and personalities rather than in showing any relationship between them. It is a study in character, as she believes it to be, but the conflicts are within each figure rather than between Giovanna and Giuliana.

In 1864 the baron Bellelli died. The family, which had inspired Degas' first major work, no longer remained intact. Degas still made periodic trips to Italy but he was now completely involved in his life and work in Paris; Florence did not mean as much to him as it had in the past. He did paint some of his other Italian relatives, the Montejasi-Circerales, the Morbillis and the Neapolitan De Gas, over the next twenty years, but apparently he never painted any of the Bellellis again. Perhaps he found Giovanna and Giuliana less appealing as their lives settled into the conventionalized pattern he had indicated in the Los Angeles portrait, and perhaps he felt he had sufficiently examined the relationship between the mother and her daughters in *The Bellelli Family*. However he could never have forgotten the experience of having lived as an intimate, who could yet be detached, in their unhappy household. In that situation he had been able to examine, to analyze, to interpret and to find the means to express the intricate involvement of emotions and habits which make up the personality of an individual and a family. He was, as a result, able to produce not only the two revealing double portraits and many sensitive drawings of the Bellellis but most importantly the great family portrait, which was one of the most critical works of his career. But perhaps even more significant than having painted these great works was the experience of having been able to articulate for himself what the nature of relationships in a family could be. As he had become aware of Giovanna and Giuliana changing and as he had studied the whole family he was preparing him-

48. Aline B. Louchheim, "Degas' Double Vision," *Art News*, March, 1947, p. 62.

self to respond with like sensitivity to similar situations in the future and to paint portraits with the same psychological penetration. When he painted the Montejasi-Cicerale sisters in the sixties, fathers and daughters in the seventies, mothers and daughters in the eighties, Degas must have remembered these same relationships as he had first become conscious of them in the Bellelli home in Florence. The Bellelli family then not only inspired some of Degas' finest early works but helped point the direction of his portraiture for the next thirty years.

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1. *Giovanna Bellelli*, dated 1856. Paris, Louvre



2. *Giuliana Bellelli*, 1856. Present owner unknown



3. *The baroness Bellelli and her two Daughters*
1857. Paris, B.N. carnet D.C. 327 O, p. 60



4. *Giovanna and Giuliana Bellelli*, 1857
Paris, B.N. carnet D.C. 327 O, p. 63



5. *Giovanna Bellelli*, 1857
Paris, B.N. carnet D.C. 327 O, p. 59



6. *Giuliana Bellelli*, 1857. Paris, Louvre



7. *Giovanna and Giuliana Bellelli*, 1857
New York, Jacques Seligmann and Company



8. *The Bellelli Family*, 1858-1862. Paris, Louvre



9. Sketch for *The Bellelli Family*, 1857
Paris, B.N. carnet D.C. 327 O, p. 64



10. Sketch for *The Bellelli Family*, 1857 or 1858
Paris, B.N. carnet D.C. 327 P, p. 97



11. *Giuliana Bellelli*, 1858. Washington, Dumbarton Oaks Coll.



12. *The Bellelli Sisters*, 1862-1864. Los Angeles County Museum, de Sylva Coll.



13-14. Sketches for *The Bellelli Sisters*, 1862-1864
Present owner unknown



15-16. Sketches of Giuliana Bellelli. Present owner unknown

17. Sketch of Giuliana Bellelli under Study for *L'Amateur*, 1862-1864
Paris, Coll. Mlle Guérin



BOOK REVIEWS

SUMNER MC KNIGHT CROSBY, *L'Abbaye Royale de St. Denis*, Paris, Paul Hartmann, 1953. Pp. 192; 26 figs.; 116 pls.*

While the number of scholarly publications on the abbey church of St. Denis is fairly large, there was still need for a really comprehensive and detailed monograph on the subject. Mr. Crosby's present work fills this need. As early as 1942 the same author had published a book entitled *The Abbey of St. Denis, 475-1122*, containing the results of his first important excavations which, however, concerned only the period before Abbot Suger (1122-1151). From 1946 to 1948 Mr. Crosby was able to continue his excavations with the financial aid of several American learned societies. The present monograph, therefore, deals with the entire history of the monument, especially with the building of Abbot Suger, who wanted to secure his fame for posterity by his detailed report on his own building activities. Mr. Crosby deals not only with the architectural and artistic history of the monastery but, in order to clarify the circumstances of artistic production, he also enters into penetrating historical discussions in each chapter. He begins with the story of the titular saint, describes the gradual development of the legend which identifies the martyr with Dionysius Areopagita and demonstrates how St. Denis came to be regarded as the "patronus" of French royalty as early as the seventh century and as its "dux et protector" by the twelfth. The abbey of St. Denis, which had risen from an earlier monastic settlement in the seventh century under King Dagobert, owned rich estates not only in France but also in Italy, England, and along the Rhine. To these possessions came the income from the great annual fairs held in its territory. These favorable economic circumstances solidified the close relation between the court and the monastery. It became the place of burial for the royal family, and its treasury kept the *regalia* and above all the *oriflamme*. Thus the monastery with its rich library became an important center of intellectual life, and the abbots assumed a significant position in politics as advisors and representatives of the king; this is true, above all, of Abbot Suger, who from 1147 to 1149 ruled as the representative of Louis VII. We also know of efforts to make St. Denis the true ruling power of France, especially at the time of St. Louis.

A first church may have been built in St. Denis de l'Estrée about 475. The site of the present structure had most probably been occupied by a house of worship as early as Merovingian times. Sarcophagi from the fifth to the seventh century and coins of even earlier date have been found in its cemetery. During his excavations Mr. Crosby found remnants of the older edifice under the Carolingian building. These remains, however, allow only a very general idea of the building's original form. It seems to have been a large struc-

ture with a nave and two aisles about 57 m in length. The masonry consists of small stones embedded in mortar and only a few larger blocks. A marble capital now preserved in the Cluny museum may have belonged to this building.

During the time of King Pippin, Abbot Fulrad replaced this church with a larger one, which was consecrated during the reign of Charlemagne in 775. Of this second church considerable remains have been brought to light by the author's excavations. Here the masonry consists of relatively large and well worked blocks. The church was a cruciform basilica with two aisles and a nave terminated in the east by an apse that was semi-circular in the interior and polygonal on the outside. Below the altar in the apse was the *confessio* with the martyr's tomb, which was accessible through an ambulatory crypt. This like the slightly older crypt of St. Maurice d'Agaune, was based on Italian prototypes, similar to the somewhat later one of St. Emmeran in Ratisbon. The nave was 36 m long and 10 m wide. To this width each of the aisles added 5.20 m. The columns separating the nave and aisles were placed at intervals of 4 m. Four of these slender columns with strong, richly ornamented bases were found in the western part of the church. The length of the transept from north to south was 28 m. The crossing with the choir proper was, according to tradition, surmounted by a tower; it was probably of square form (more exact information could not be gained). The excavations in the western part of the church produced especially interesting finds. Here in the axis of the nave were found the foundation walls of an apse which was closed on all three sides towards the exterior and the interior. Its western wall, though, had again been removed. From Suger's description of the older building it can be gathered that a narrow vestibule serving the main entrance was flanked on both sides by towers. In this reviewer's opinion, this suggests that a western choir with an apse had been planned originally but that this plan was changed in the course of construction by transforming the apse into a vestibule and by moving the western choir into the upper story. Thus St. Denis may well have had the oldest *Westwork*, similar to that built later on in enlarged form at Centula (consecrated 799). Additional support for this assumption can be found in the circumstance that Suger's new building has several altars in the upper story, evidently following the previous type of building. Remarkable, too, is the fact that King Pippin wanted to be buried in front of the main portal, exactly the same spot where Angilbert was later interred at Centula. If this reviewer's hypothesis is correct, then the development of the *Westwork* can be traced quite clearly here: a western entrance on the longitudinal axis was desired or needed for the lay congregation and for the processions in particular. The western choir, as shown among others by the plan of St. Gall, was consequently moved into the upper story.

* The editor wishes to thank Mr. Joachim E. Gaehde for his translation of this review.

Suger tells us that the most precious and richly ornamented fabrics covered the walls of the old church. His report is not contradicted by the excavation, which uncovered remains of painted stucco on the interior walls; the hangings would hardly have reached down to the floor, so that the lower parts of the wall probably showed painted imitations of drapery.

During the period of Abbot Hilduin (814-841) a chapel consecrated to the Virgin, St. John, and All Saints was added to the eastern choir. This chapel was on a lower level than the choir and accessible by stairs. It consisted of three narrow parallel rooms which were connected in the west. The room in the center had an apse attached to its eastern end. The whole evidently was a kind of exterior crypt which owed its existence to the growing worship of relics; it constituted a step towards the development of such buildings as St. Philibert de Grandlieu or Flavigny, thus opening a vista on the later choirs with lateral chapels or choirs with ambulatory and radiating chapels. Towards the end of the eleventh century a donation of William the Conqueror enabled Abbot Yves to erect a tower on the northern side of the church which, however, collapsed before it was finished. The foundation walls of this tower came to light during the excavations. It was built in a quite peculiar manner on free-standing piers above a sort of crypt which was consecrated to Saint Hippolytus.

In the fourth chapter, which contains twenty-six pages, Mr. Crosby describes the main results of his excavations during the years 1946-1948, devoted mostly to the building of Abbot Suger. As all scholars concerned with Suger's edifice have been largely dependent up to now on conjectures, the most important fact established by Mr. Crosby is that only the *Westwork* and choir belong to the twelfth century building. The transept and the nave, though begun in their foundations on the south side, were not continued. The Carolingian structure remained standing in these parts up to the thirteenth century. Not until the time of Abbot Eudes de Clément, between 1231 and 1281, was it replaced by a new building, of quite different form, needless to say, than that planned by the architects of Abbot Suger. The earlier theory—mostly advocated by French scholars—that Suger's building represented the original creation of Gothic church architecture, must now be discarded on the strength of the new evidence. It is impossible that an edifice completed only in its western and eastern parts could have been the model for the numerous cathedrals and other churches erected between 1144 and 1231, since their decisive characteristics are found in the shape of the nave. Mr. Crosby makes every effort to save the old theory. He lists, for instance, all clerics who, according to Suger, were present at the consecrations of 1140 and 1144 or at the translation of relics in 1141 and who might thus have contributed to the spread of the "new style." The theme of the "Portail Royal," the layout of the nave and transept of Notre Dame, Paris, as well as most Gothic choir structures and the monumental use of stained glass, are in Mr. Crosby's opinion derived from Suger's building, which he calls "the first Gothic church" (p. 51). Here we must emphasize that a

comparison of the portal figures of St. Denis and Chartres shows that the latter represent a new style to a much greater degree. They have an austere and clear construction whereas the curvilinear and swinging draperies of the figures at St. Denis, as well as the striking profusion of the ornament on the portal as a whole, have all the hallmarks of a late, "sophisticated," style. The St. Denis figures consequently belong to the final phase of the Romanesque. While talking about the formation of the portal the author has to admit that many details continue the Romanesque tradition (p. 38), but he maintains that the Gothic spirit announces itself in the way the figures move in space. He rests his case mainly on the figures of the *Wise and Foolish Virgins* which are represented below some kind of canopy. Similar motifs, however, can be found earlier in North Italy (Pavia, Verona), and their picturesque enrichment in the details of the St. Denis figures is the hallmark of a late phase. The elevation of Notre Dame, Paris, has nothing in common with the edifice of Suger. Mr. Crosby himself states that in all probability no galleries were planned at St. Denis. Thus only the groundplan with its nave and four aisles remains to be considered. The transept, as Mr. Crosby has ascertained by his excavation of the southern foundation walls, did not protrude beyond the outer aisles. But these features are not inherently "Gothic." Apart from Notre Dame, all important Gothic cathedrals have a protruding transept, while the five-aisled plan is a heritage of Early Christian times. One may assume, moreover, that the peculiar location of Notre Dame close to the bank of the Seine and to the episcopal palace was responsible for the reduction of the transept. The rebuilding of St. Denis by Pierre de Montreuil in the thirteenth century shows that one of the most eminent Gothic architects by no means wanted to give up the protruding transept. Nor was Suger's choir imitated in Paris. It is, on the whole, a characteristic Gothic tendency to strive for utmost clarity not only in the elevation but also in the groundplan. This is exemplified in the most important cathedrals belonging to the mature phase of the style (Reims, Amiens), where the ambulatory and the chapels are treated as distinct spatial compartments, while later buildings (Coutances, Tournai) tend towards a fusion of these units. Romanesque architecture shows a similar tendency in its stylistic evolution. During the flowering of the style the choir schemes clearly distinguish ambulatory and chapels, while the fusion of spatial units is again a late characteristic. The layout of Suger's choir, with its pronounced connection between the chapels themselves as well as with the ambulatory, thus has all the qualities of the late Romanesque, as does the abundant ornamentation of the capitals. Although the author claims that the masters working for Abbot Suger had shown "creative genius" and had invented new forms for which no precedent can be found (p. 33), he has to admit that "many details continue the Romanesque tradition" (p. 38). This he finds particularly true for the ribbed vaults (p. 40) which, as is well known, were formerly considered to be the decisive hallmark of Gothic architecture, an opinion still held today by

many French scholars. In opposing this theory Mr. Crosby stresses that ribbed vaults were in use in Lombardy and England as early as the end of the eleventh century and that they had been employed in quite a number of French churches prior to the rebuilding of St. Denis. He also points out the origin of compound piers ("piles à faisceaux de colonnettes") and structural arch moldings ("moultures multiples") in earlier Norman and English architecture (p. 41). Yet he finds the new intentions of St. Denis in just these details, which to him signify a new feeling for scale as well as an attempt at "unification." In stressing the new scale, Mr. Crosby thinks that the multiplication of single members gives them a more distant appearance, a device which seems to give greater height to the whole interior. Here we must keep in mind that the floor of the western porch was 1.80 m lower in Suger's time than it is today, thus giving the room a much more vertical effect. If we are to find for Gothic architecture as such a clearcut basic concept by which to evaluate the historical position of individual monuments, we must first of all emphasize that the Northern French from the very start showed an aesthetic preference for structural organization in terms of supports and arches as against interior spaces defined by continuous wall surfaces. This is already true for the Romanesque, even though the finest examples of the style have been preserved only in Normandy and the Champagne. Developing from this basis, Gothic architecture may be said to begin with the conscious effort to permeate the elevation with a distinct vertical tendency, embodied in the dynamic power of slender rising members, that negates the gravity of all matter. The vault seems to soar towards heaven as a symbol of transcendental forces which are to fill the souls of the worshipers with deep longing for the celestial kingdom of God. The building of Pierre de Montreuil embodies this spirit of the Gothic in a most consummate way. In comparison Suger's edifice still seems to be part of the late Romanesque. A valid classification can most conveniently be gained from the ornamental forms. Dynamic verticality appears in its purest form in the rising stems and buds of the early Gothic capitals, while the capitals of Suger's building, devoid of vertical impulses, have only an ornamental effect. The same is true of the columns of the ambulatory; in spite of their slender shafts the strongly projecting capitals with square abacuses give them the appearance of supports rather than of conductors of upward surging energies. Nor do the vaults, although structurally divided by restbands and ribs, give the effect of floating weightlessness. It is only necessary to compare them with the more emphatically Gothic vaults of the ambulatory in the southern transept of the Cathedral of Soissons. At St. Denis the architect was primarily interested in an expansive space bounded by rich and curving contours, a space enhanced by the influx of light and thus filled with pictorial feeling; but the dynamism of the true Gothic is missing. A pronounced late style such as represented by St. Denis not only delights in exuberant ornamental forms (one could say the same of Suger's literary style) but realizes its spatial aims by using relatively new structural devices

such as rib-vaulting and pointed arches. Analogous characteristics are found in the late phases of every style from the end of Antiquity to the Baroque. Mr. Crosby's art historical evaluation of Suger's building has therefore to be used with some caution, since his characterization of the peculiar stylistic elements of St. Denis is not based on clearly defined criteria. In describing a relief representing the twelve Apostles which he has found, he thus arrives at the following definition: "Le style aussi bien que la technique s'apparentent à l'art roman et à l'art gothique à la fois" (p. 55). Mr. Crosby's analysis of the building of Suger would lead the reader to the same conclusion concerning its position in the history of style.

Two chapters deal in detail with the Gothic edifice of Pierre de Montreuil and the later history of the abbey church, as well as with the monastic buildings up to the restorations of the nineteenth century. The difference of style between the rebuilt Gothic choir and the newly erected transept and nave is skilfully explained by Mr. Crosby. The rebuilding of the choir was in his opinion begun in 1231 as tradition would have it and not in 1200 as had been mistakenly assumed on the basis of stylistic considerations. The difference in artistic conception between the choir and the nave or transept is explained by the circumstance that Pierre de Montreuil, who is mentioned as master architect only from 1247 on, probably did not participate in the building activities until 1240. The rebuilding of Suger's choir in 1231, furthermore, was certainly not undertaken merely for the sake of greater stability. Suger's choir was not "Gothic," so far as the architects of the thirteenth century were concerned. The book is well provided with good reproductions, from photographs by Pierre Devinoy. A groundplan with exact notations of the results of the excavations, as well as a plate showing reconstructions of the successive building stages, elucidates the text. Longitudinal and transversal sections would have been a welcome addition.

ERNST GALL
Munich

VICTOR ELBERN, *Der Karolingische Goldaltar von Mailand*, Bonn, Kunsthistorisches Institut der Universität, 1952 (Bonner Beiträge zur Kunstwissenschaft, Band 2). Pp. 123; 11 figs. 15/-.

RONALD JESSUP, *Anglo-Saxon Jewellery*, New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1953. Pp. 148; 44 pls.; 11 figs. \$7.50.

WALTER PAATZ, *Sceptrum universitatis: Die europäischen Universitätsszepter*, Heidelberg, Winter, 1953 (Heidelberger Kunstgeschichtliche Abhandlungen, Neue Folge, Band 2). Pp. 152; 65 figs. on 39 pls.; 7 figs. in text. DM 25.

PAUL THOBY, *Les croix limousines de la fin du XIe siècle au début du XIVe siècle*, Paris, Picard, 1953. Pp. 175; 90 figs. on 48 pls.; 3 ills. in text. Fr. 4,600.

The four books listed here have little in common beside the basic material of the objects with which they

are concerned, bronze, silver, and gold which the smiths have cast, rolled, beaten out in repoussé, engraved, inlaid, or used as a field for polychromatic designs with polished stones, enamel, and niello. Little attention is given to the purely technical characteristics of metals, except for a few pages in Jessup's book where, unfortunately, Cellini's fabulous tale of the method of casting *en cire perdue* is repeated once again. They can, however, serve as typical examples of classes of publication of the greatest current frequency: the dissertation, the popular book, the partial and initial study inciting to more complete research in a limited area of a field of symbols of current scholarly interest, and finally the definitive monograph. Jessup's book is representative of a class of publication perhaps more common earlier in this century with its apparent intention to appeal to a varied literate public yet incongruously provided with a modicum of scholarly apparatus. Two of the studies may have made too hasty an appearance, Paatz' admittedly so in view of local circumstances yet not the less useful through its convenient presentation of one significant group of these semiliturgical instruments, while Elbern's dissertation is, as such, quite defensible within the context of the scholarly interest in the formation of the Carolingian and Ottonian styles. By contrast, Thoby's monograph is unlikely to have any significant additions made to it whatever may be the ultimate state in the attribution of certain of its members, either from Hildburgh's postulation of a Spanish school of enamellers or from Stohlman's suggestion of a possible Italian workshop. The present review will be primarily concerned with examining each book within the limits of its announced or implicit intention.

Jessup's not inexpensive book, written in a discursive style, assembles a selection of the characteristic objects of Anglo-Saxon personal adornment with the stated purpose of showing only the main lines of development and the most interesting features of some of the leading varieties of their forms. This is accomplished by an introduction and a descriptive catalogue of notes to the 109 representative objects chosen for illustration. An index of several hundred entries does not readily compensate for the lack of formal divisions or running titles in the introduction. However, as there are almost a dozen principal topics within the short compass of 75 pages this may not be a grave fault. Its first half contains a brief indication of the obscurities in the archaeological knowledge of the art of late Roman and early Anglo-Saxon Britain, a reconstruction of a Saxon weaver's hut, and the evidence for the materials and design of Germanic secular dress. The principal exposition, on the materials and technical processes in Saxon jewelry-making, and a broad survey of the several types of adornment arranged in six general categories according to their position from the head to the ankles is concluded by a brief account of the history of the knowledge of Saxon antiquities.

Among the illustrations, which are of uneven although generally good quality, are color plates of four of the most splendid objects (two unfortunately reversed in their position from the indications in the List of Illustrations and in the text). The author has noted

the diversity of critical opinion on the dating and place of origin of some of the better-known ornaments but passes over in silence the vigorous current debate on the dating within the seventh century and the locale of production of the varied objects of the Sutton Hoo treasure. Next most copiously illustrated (ten plates) are the well-known Anglian brooches in cast bronze and the Kentish round jeweled and composite brooches, of which nearly fifty are preserved, with their intricate geometric patterns of filigree designs, cloisonné garnet and lapis lazuli bands and, occasionally, bone buttons (this material is called meerscham or shell in five instances and only in the note on p. 118 is this identification retracted without any stated grounds in favor of bone).

The book may be suitable for introducing the general public to the superb craftsmanship and some of the decorative patterns and for giving a hint of the historical complexity of one of the finest productions of the Germanic peoples. For a particularly interested member of this group there are adequate directions towards further study through the discursive bibliographical summary and through the provision, in most cases, of the earliest and the most recent bibliographical notice of each of the illustrated objects. But it can be of little value to the student or specialist, whether archaeologist or art historian, craftsman or practicing jeweler, for whom it is claimed that Anglo-Saxon jewelry has a particular interest or appeal; it is not an indispensable handbook for the manual worker filled with exact technical descriptions and detailed photographs. Indeed the illustrations are usually inadequate in their indication of dimensions (only one is normally given and that in a curious decimal system of inches) while only one of the thirteen brooches with a markedly projecting bow is photographed in a position from which the extent of such projection can be calculated even approximately. The author acknowledges that his work does not replace the chapters on jewelry in such standard general works on early English art as Baldwin Brown and Kendrick and the detailed monographs of Leeds (to which should be added Dalton's *Guide to the Anglo-Saxon and Foreign Teutonic Antiquities of the British Museum*, 1923). Philip Lozinski has recently pointed out (*ART BULLETIN*, September 1954, pp. 238-240) some of the pitfalls in the way of the student of the history of mediaeval jewelry; Jessup's book, although certainly not attempting to present a closely reasoned historical analysis, gives additional emphasis to this warning. For, even if these Anglo-Saxon objects are far simpler and usually less composite than those of the Ottonian period of which Lozinski wrote, there are numbers of composite works with elements of an origin almost certainly non-English, for which such ill-defined terms as "Frankish," "continental," "Germanic," are all too frequently used, and the archaeological datum of provenance is often obscure. Jessup has outlined these difficulties and obscurities and the more certain foreign connections or components are noted in many individual instances, yet the title of the book is somewhat ambiguous for the jewels are those found at Anglo-Saxon sites rather than works made exclusively by these Germanic invaders of Britain.

Thoby's monograph on a single type of enameled bronze among the score of forms created by the prolific craftsmen of the west of France during two centuries is directed solely to the scholar, though the craftsman might well be attracted by the infinite variety in modulation of a limited form and theme superbly executed in a difficult medium, and the public be drawn to examine the numerous examples of superior quality to be found in several American museums. The mediaeval Limoges enamels that are so well represented, both in quantity and quality, in museums throughout western Europe and the United States have suffered the fate of a very limited attention on the part of the scholarly world of the present century. In view of the high technical excellence of the best products of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, the great variety of objects using this combination of gilt bronze and brilliant vitreous surfaces, later coupled with cabochon polished gems, and the clarity and simplicity of the designs, such neglect may seem difficult to explain. It probably resides in three factors: the very quantity of objects scattered throughout the western Christian world, the peripheral and provincial position of Limoges within the nascent Gothic milieu (while the scholarly world has been in great part concerned with the critical monuments reflecting the development of forms and ideas in which the tension and complexity of the High Middle Ages seemed to be best exemplified), and finally the publication, in 1890, of a comprehensive work, Ernest Rupin's *L'œuvre de Limoges*.

Rupin's great work summed up the individual studies of nearly half a century by French art historians and antiquaries which ran parallel to the formation of a number of private collections of which the Metropolitan Museum and the Walters Gallery in this country are among the ultimate heirs. For the next forty years little was written about Limoges enamels aside from sections in the catalogues of private collections and a few short articles by Marquet de Vasselot. Hildburgh's proposal to transfer the major early works to a Spanish atelier, Stohlman's suggestion of a limited group of Italian origin, Madame Gauthier's general work in connection with the great exhibition at Limoges in 1950, and the publication of monographs on three of the types, *Crosses limousines* (1941) and *Gémellions limousins* (1953) by Marquet de Vasselot and the present work by Thoby may be the first fruits of an examination that will lead to a new period of study of this field of early Gothic art, too long generally disregarded.

Thoby's generally excellent monograph more than quadruples the number of these processional crosses published by Rupin and implies the existence of nearly fifty more from the preserved examples of the plaques that were constantly used at the crossing of such crosses. It is arranged in eight chapters on the different morphological types, on the relationship of several formal and decorative elements of the crosses (rosette background, rinceau with polychrome flowers, horizontal banding, starred background, escutcheon, heads in relief) to the other works of Limoges' production, on a type of

reliquary-cross with double traverse and on the question of Spanish and Italian enameled crosses. This is followed by a catalogue of the crosses arranged in general chronological order within the larger divisions of the five types established, by indexes of iconography, of proper names and of places in the catalogue, and by a generous number of usually excellent collotype plates. (The principal exceptions are in the examples whose decoration is in large part very shallow engraving, as in Pls. XIII, XVIII, XXXIV; this is most regrettable in the inadequacy of Pl. V to render the rich yet crisp character of the engraved *vermiculé* pattern of the Poldo Pezzoli cross; the greater clarity in the cross at Freising, Pl. XII, does not quite compensate, through the heaviness of its similar rinceau design, since the Milanese cross is one of the finest products of the style.)

The catalogue, in six parts for the four major Limoges' types established, for the form with double traverse of the reliquary-crosses and for a dozen Spanish crosses ranging in date from the early thirteenth to the late fourteenth century, is in most respects satisfactory. Each object is described as to its forms and decoration, the provenience or former ownership is usually given, but there is a random notation of dimensions, date, and bibliography that is to be deplored; not even one dimension is given in thirty instances (in addition to the fifteen cases where the description depends on an earlier publication), not a single bibliographical note is given for just more than half of the 116 crosses catalogued. An approximate date is given in only sixteen instances (without any apparent underlying principle of citation) and an essentially useless indication of the gamut of colors in the enamels appears six times. Some of these are matters of no great importance (as are also the absence of accession or registration numbers for one of the five crosses in the Metropolitan Museum, one of the two in the Musée Municipal at Chartres, and one of the two at the Musée du Berry at Bourges, as well as almost all museums where there is only one cross), but they detract from the presumptive scientific accuracy and rigour implied by such a catalogue.

The preceding analytical chapters are introduced by one that subdivides the whole group of crosses on the basis of four significant elements, each in turn further subdivided: the form of the cross, the nature of the plaques covering the wooden core (and the few examples of a solid bronze plaque with designs on both sides), the relationship of the enameled to the reserved metal parts and the form of the figure of the Crucified. The resultant four major classes, roughly successive in their chronological appearance, are then presented with the description of the several component elements subsumed into individual subclasses. In view of the absence of certain documentation, either from the objects themselves or from records, Thoby's chronological arrangement follows the conservative pattern of Rupin and Marquet de Vasselot, from enameled figures on a ground at first plain, then engraved with rinceaux that are succeeded by enameled grounds against which the principal figure of the Crucified becomes marked off, first by the head in relief and then

by the nude parts of the body being engraved in the metal plaque until the whole body becomes a separate casting. Of the early form the plaques on the reverse side are lost in all but one example, that of the Dzyalinska Collection in Warsaw, where the engraved figures of Christ in Majesty with the four evangelistic symbols on enameled grounds reveal as already fixed the type of reverse that will be constant until the end of the thirteenth century. There is a generally parallel development, but with fewer surviving examples, in the group of single-plaque crosses enameled on only one side, normally the obverse, and on which the reverse has a more varied iconographic range. Two of the members of this group (nos. 26, 111) were extracted by Stohlman to form a part of a "Star Group," while of three others (nos. 23, 88, 89) he suggested the possibility of an Italian origin. From the latter, Hildburgh withdrew two (those at Anagni and in the Vatican) to associate them with a large group, formulated earlier, for which a Spanish origin was claimed. Thoby will not accept either diminution of the "œuvre de Limoges" on the grounds advanced; he is uncertain of the anomalies in several of the crosses but is not willing to exclude them without stronger evidence. The final chapter and figures define his version of typical Spanish crosses of the period.

One might have expected a closer analysis as well as a greater evidence of knowledge of pertinent bibliography from the presence of an "index iconographique"; non-French bibliography is very limited and the presence of comparative material on such elements as Adam beneath the cross (p. 17), the gesture of grief (p. 19), the rough-hewn cross (p. 23), the Church and Synagogue (p. 25), the sun and moon (p. 27), the four beasts as evangelistic symbols (p. 36), and the colobium (pp. 55, 76) is singularly summary and lacking in reference to even moderately recent studies of these motifs. Like the other publications of the past twenty years on the Limoges enamels, this study of a limited but distinct group of its complete production should help to turn attention back to the varied products of this perhaps provincial and conservative but once extremely popular and representative medium of early Gothic art.

Elbern's doctoral dissertation of the University of Zurich presents a carefully reasoned and plausible interpretation of the iconographic program and the stylistic variations of one of the greatest monuments of the goldsmith's art of the early mediaeval period, the gold and silver-gilt, enameled and jeweled altar ("arca" from its inscription) of Saint Ambrose in Milan. The author had the good fortune, rarely offered to scholars, of being able to examine it in great detail while it was exhibited in the University of the Sacred Heart during 1949 before its re-establishment in the basilica from its war-time sojourn in the Vatican Library. Instead of the frequent study of limited aspects of the problems presented by the altar, the author of this monograph examines in detail the archaeological evidence and liturgical connections as well as the technical, iconographic, stylistic, and aesthetic characteristics, to return to the conservative conclusion that it is

a work made in Milan for Bishop Angilbertus ca. 840 by the Frankish smith *WOLVINI* with perhaps two major assistants. For Elbern the whole presents a unified program showing in the iconography of the themes of Christ's life the contemporaneous Byzantine types. This is only slightly modified in the Ambrosian scenes of the back with their reminiscences of earlier, "Roman," prototypes. Stylistically the decorations of the altar are considered to show, in this work produced far from the truly creative centers of the ninth century in northwestern Europe and the Eastern empire, a composite of elements derived from both late classical trends, simplification and pictorialism, as well as from one of the several Carolingian versions of the simplification of figure and setting that was to reach, through not yet clearly defined channels, a point of integral formulation in the Ottonian style of Reichenau.

The thesis therefore rejects the contention of many of the older writers up to Porter that the altar is a reworking or reconstruction of the twelfth or thirteenth century and also Tatum's division into a Carolingian back and sides and an Ottonian front. Elbern's analysis begins with a detailed formal description of the altar followed by an examination of the documentary evidence of its history from its prehistory with Ambrose's recovery of the relics of Saints Gervasius and Protasius in 386 to the excavations in 1864 of which G. B. de' Rossi left rather less than complete records. The conclusion reached is that there is nothing contrary to the sense of the inscription on the back of the altar and to the tradition that was so well established at least by the middle of the twelfth century that the monks of the adjoining monastery seem to have forged a diploma for 835 in their vain effort to wrest control from its custodians, the canons. The severe damage often claimed from the collapse of vaulting ca. 1195 has long been known not to have been serious in the area of the altar. The protective measures, the vicissitudes and threats to the golden altar from 1200 to the requisitions of the Directory in 1797 are well, if not fully, attested.

After a short examination of the form of the altar, which resembles the *confessio* of Rome and Ravenna with doors in the back, and its position above pierced stone slabs that permit direct access to the sarcophagus containing the relics of the three saints below, the greater part of the monograph is devoted to the cycles dealing with Christ and Ambrose and to their individual themes and elements. All of the twelve scenes of Christ's life presented, the *Majestas Domini* and the "crux gemmata" of the central frame are related to earlier Roman, Italianate Byzantine, and Carolingian parallels as well as to the examples of Ottonian works that Tatum had adduced for his later dating of this part of the altar's program. Elbern's thesis considers the design of the back, the choice of the twelve themes from Ambrose's life, and the composition of most of these themes to be directly dependent upon the design and choice made on the front and upon compositions readily available in well-established New Testament themes of similar content. Each of the Ambrosian scenes is provided with a *titulus*, probably extracted

from the biography by Paulinus, in most of which a word or phrase is taken by Elbern to have suggested a like moment in Christ's life and thereby have provided the basic composition, from Gospel illustrations, rather than depending upon a hypothetical illustrated manuscript of Paulinus that Tatum suggests. Elbern does not exclude the possibility, in view of the frequent use of *tituli* in monumental art from the early Christian period, that *VVOLVINI* copied from such a cycle, now lost. However, it would be most reasonable to think that this too would imply an earlier manuscript picture cycle. The two sides with their gemmed crosses adored by deacons and saints, each with groups of eight angels and busts of four saints honored in Milan, provide the additional thematic material for a summary emphasizing the iconographic unity of program, with Ambrose's life and activities reflecting that of Christ while he also acts as mediator for the donor and the artist as the archangels mediate for mankind, and the saints, martyrs, bishops and angels lead to a glorification of the cross here as they do in the contemporaneous *De laudibus sanctae crucis* of Rabanus Maurus.

Following an examination of the technical and stylistic details of the enamel designs and the settings of the inset gems that ends in the postulation of a hierarchical ordering of these abstract forms through color and number, Elbern proceeds to a stylistic analysis of the figure compositions characterizing precisely the individual variations of style and their presumptive sources. The marked differences between the style of the front and back are conceived as dialects of a single language, the one with more pictorial, narrative and expressively varied qualities (for the ninth century more archaic features) while the other foreshadows the simplification, plastic strengthening and linear emphasis that will be dominant in the tenth and eleventh centuries. In part this is postulated as the work of two principal goldsmiths, each with an assistant; *VVOLVINI* was the designer and one of the chief executants, either of the back on which he is represented while being crowned by Saint Ambrose or of one part of the front in the more pictorial scenes of the Presentation, Jairus approaching Christ and the Transfiguration. He and his colleagues had formed their individual styles from the numerous modifications of the antique then current in Rome, Ravenna, and the schools of Tours, Reims, and Aachen in northern Europe, with the less certainly defined styles of Saint Gall and early Reichenau perhaps serving as intermediaries on the adjacent transalpine north.

The illustrations are quite bad and there is no index to a rather involved text. The financial stringency of the German universities excuses the former, which is easily supplemented from Tatum's excellent photographs (*ART BULLETIN*, XXVI, 1944), and a detailed table of contents assists in some measure in overcoming the difficulties caused by the absence of an index. It is however an extremely creditable and provocative dissertation on this splendid memorial for the patron and the protomartyrs of Milan. The divergence of opinion of its author and Tatum reinforces the plea by Schapiro in his review of Weitzmann's publication on the

frescoes of Santa Maria di Castelseprio (*ART BULLETIN*, XXXIV, 1952, pp. 147-163) for an increased study of the ninth and tenth century works of Lombardy, to which might well be added the northern slopes of the Alps.

Paatz concludes his excellent initial survey of one of the principal insignia of the European university with the note of regret that it is only an outline to be filled in by interested local historians. This is in part true, but it may rather be hoped that his stimulus will lead an historian of wider view to assemble all the material in a definitive study. Paatz is well aware of and quite specific about most of the limitations of his work but in reality the book provides an exemplary outline of this circumscribed group of symbolic objects ranging, in the examples preserved, from the early fifteenth to the first half of the eighteenth century. The German lands provide most of his material, in part from the short time he could devote to the work (the foreword contains the note that it was little more than a year earlier that he had been invited to write on the scepters of Heidelberg at which time the subject was quite unknown to him), in part from the postwar limitations on travel and scholarly interchange and in some part also from the cumulative effect of the studies by several generations of scholars, primarily German, devoted to the varied aspects of symbols of authority and supremacy.

The text consists of two parts, one that is subdivided into seven chapters on different aspects of the university scepters, the other an alphabetically arranged descriptive catalogue of these insignia for forty-seven universities, of which twenty-five are illustrated, with more than half also shown in the detail of their most ornate parts. In this all the pertinent data is given in great detail wherever Paatz was able to cite from precise local publications; elsewhere, for almost all the non-Germanic universities, his descriptions are summary or non-existent. Even for Germany one is left in some doubt, for such universities as Jena, Wittenberg-Halle, and Erlangen are not mentioned, not to speak of many of the suppressed universities; there is no indication if this lack of reference results from the complete lack of evidence for such insignia or from the author's inability to discover such evidence. Since he has little command of the foreign material, either objective or bibliographical, his conclusions will certainly be modified if the scepters of the universities of Italy, France and Spain are ever examined with the care here given to most of the German examples.

In the first part six of the chapters are dedicated to the several university faculties repeating the author's initial acknowledgment of indebtedness to the specialized learning of his colleagues in Heidelberg. The first four of these deal with the forms of use of this insignium by the university, the emblems and inscriptions of higher authority from which powers had been delegated to it, the legal position of the university in mediaeval and later society with the scepter as its symbol and the varied terms—*virga*, *bacula*, *massa* (masse, mazza, maza, mace), *sceptrum*, *staff*, *fascies*, *columna*—by which it had been designated. The final three

chapters of this section examine the scepter's morphology, its iconographic program and its character as an artistic product, related to contemporaneous works of the goldsmiths.

At least three constant uses for one or more scepters (university and faculties) are attested from the earliest preserved documents and representations ca. 1400; they are borne by beadles in solemn procession before the rector or chancellor as the university's representative official, they are present during lectures (a usage that seems to have declined after the sixteenth century) and they are present, whether borne or placed in state upon a table, during examinations for academic degrees. As symbols of the delegated powers of the emperor or local ruler, of the pope or bishop, they are commonly provided with the coats of arms of these donors of authority and with heraldic supporters or crests. They often bear inscriptions, are frequently surmounted by the crowns of their imperial, ducal, papal or episcopal founders and benefactors and are occasionally provided with imperial or princely portrait figures. In Germany at least, none seems to lack references to the secular authority that founded the university or faculty, gave it legal status and powers, supported it and used it as an instrument of the civil power. Paatz rejects von Amira's thesis that the scepter was originally the beadle's staff of office and weapon, converted by seventeenth century academic writers into the symbol of the university's legal status and disciplinary powers, citing not only the conclusions of Graven but many fifteenth century documents to show that the scepter was, from the earliest preserved records, such a symbol, derived in form and meaning from the developed mediaeval royal and imperial scepters, that was entrusted to the beadle as the subordinate functionary of the rector or dean.

The scepter's materials, at first of wood trimmed with metal but almost invariably of silver from the late fourteenth century, and its limited variations in form are examined in detail. Normally a short staff, its handle and the staff itself subject to many variations of proportion, section, and surface embellishment, the focus of attention is upon the crowning member that is, almost without exception (the halberd-like spike of Dorpat and the cross of Erfurt), either a basically spherical mass, lightened by foliate forms, globes, urns, flanges or crowns or an architectural canopy. The figure decoration is primarily in the form of free-standing statuettes surmounting the whole or, in the case of the architectural form, also within the canopy. Relief sculpture is less frequent, occurring on the head or the knops forming the collars of the separate sections of the staff of the scepter; occasionally there are enameled designs on the latter.

The iconographic repertory is also limited. Academic persons are rarely shown (p. 57); there are a few ill-defined secular figures and perhaps half a dozen representations of princes, for their presence is more normally specified through the heraldic devices and the inscriptions. Understandably, religious figures occur most frequently; God the Father and the Trinity (p. 50) but once, while Christ also is to be found only five

times, once within the canopy of the University Scepter of Heidelberg (1492) as a child teaching in the Synagogue. The Virgin appears even less frequently (pp. 54f.). By far the most common are the saints who are patrons of the individual university and of the several faculties. Peter and Paul were used at the culminating point, within their respective canopies, each surrounded by a group of six apostles, on the pair of lost University scepters of Cologne (1412 and 1431); Paul occurs again as patron of the theologians of Freiburg (1512) while at Vienna (1601) their patron is the Evangelist John, with the symbols of the evangelists below him. Luke is at times shown as the patron of the faculty of medicine (Freiburg 1512; Munich 1600/1642; Vienna 1615; Pont-à-Mousson by 1608), while elsewhere (the so-called imperial scepter of Salzburg 1620/1625) Saints Cosmas and Damian are its patrons. On the university seal dating from the founding of the University of Kiel in 1665 the medical faculty is represented by an emblem including the snake-entwined staff of Aesculapius that had already appeared on the earliest and most intricate program for a medical faculty of which there is record, the lost fifteenth century scepter of Paris, represented in a Galen manuscript in Dresden and described in some detail by Pajon de Moncet in 1782 (pp. 56f.). Ivo of Brittany is most frequently shown as patron of the law but Catherine of Alexandria takes this position once (Padua, ca. 1530) although she is more often the patron of the university itself or of the faculty of arts and its successor, philosophy (pp. 55f.). A few other saints were represented and the only major variation from religious figure symbolism was that of allegorical figures who are used after 1600; such were Mars (?) on the two scepters of Giessen (1607), *Justitia* of the Law faculty of Vienna (1615), and *Pax optima rerum* of both scepters of Kiel (1665), the first university to be founded after the devastation of the 'Thirty Years' War.

The scepters are finally examined as a branch of the goldsmith's art in the successive generations that reflect the changes from the Gothic style of the University scepter of Cologne (1412) to the richness of south German Baroque at Ingolstadt (first half of seventeenth century) and more grave simplicity at Göttingen (1737). In addition to nearly a dozen documentary records from between 1431 and 1642 of individual goldsmiths' preparation of scepters Paatz relates the architectural forms and the figure style of several of these insignia to the work of more famous artists. The pair from Erfurt (1412), now in Berlin, seem, from details of the tracery, paneling, and finials, to be related to the later school of Parler; the scepters of the faculties of law and art at Padua (replicas of 1922 that appear to be almost exact copies based on a sixteenth century engraving) are brought into connection with Jacopo Sansovino while the likewise lost scepter of the theologians (also known from this engraving) is associated with a number of works of the school of Pisanello of a century earlier. The vigorous individuality of the five tiny figures of the University Scepter of Heidelberg (1492), as well as the delicacy of the

pierced details of the architectural canopy, lead Paatz in the direction of Nikolaus Gerhaert of Leyden. The group of four scepters and the great seal of the University of Greifswald, in addition to the votive portrait painting of Heinrich Rubenow (all to be dated between 1456 and 1462), burgomaster and first rector of the university, bring Paatz to the conjecture, that he promises to pursue, of an active artistic school at Greifswald which may have been one of the decisive formative elements in the early style of Bernt Notke.

Although limited in its range and depth when compared with the studies of von Amira, Schramm, Alfeldi, L'Orange, and Grabar, Paatz places us in his debt by bringing together a large, though incomplete, number of these foci of meaning of which the usual publications have hitherto been too restricted in circulation.

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MARTIN S. SORIA, *The Paintings of Zurbarán*, London and New York, Phaidon Publishers Inc., 1953. Pp. x + 200; 280 ills. \$12.50.

More than forty years have passed since Cascales y Muñoz produced the first scholarly monograph on Zurbarán. The author, an Estremenian of broad cultural interests, declared that he was motivated by "the noble wish to render the homage of admiration" and "to contribute his bit to the rightful exaltation of the artist." Since the appearance of the pioneer monograph, Zurbarán has achieved such fame throughout Europe and the Americas as he had in life only in the few cities where he worked; and, the number of his paintings exhibited in the galleries of the United States having increased from just two or three to about twenty-five, we may estimate that almost a sixth of his known works are now in possession of the English-speaking nations. Also within the four decades the techniques of photography and photoengraving have so improved that fine illustrations of Zurbarán's paintings themselves commend the artist. Hence this prolific master, creator of many works that are happily well preserved, admired by a rather select public and worthy of wider recognition, is a fitting subject for the Phaidon Publishers.

For such a book as they now offer us the standards are high and manifold: it must be beautiful, as complete as resources permit, serviceable to every sort of person, expert and novice, who may use it, and, not least of all, inspirational.

Dr. Soria's *Zurbarán* is as handsome as lavish illustration, fine typography, and excellent stock can make it. One hundred halftone plates, all but eight occupying the entire page, nine of them reproduced a second time in color, and all bearing indication of place and date, make this *Zurbarán* a treasure to collectors of fine books. About one quarter of the halftones are details thoughtfully selected to facilitate study of the painter's

brushwork. And, though the plates represent only the elite of Zurbarán's works, those paintings which the author considers less distinguished are not omitted but may be seen in the figures which accompany the catalogue. Among these figures, rarely exceeding one quarter of the page and often of still smaller size, are a few that perhaps deserve the greater dimensions of the plates; but, in general, the minor corpus makes suitable provision for those works in which repainting or deterioration, inherent mediocrity, or possible inadequacy of the photograph would have debased the standard of the large plates; and, since only ten or twelve of the works recorded in the catalogue are not illustrated by either plate or figure, Dr. Soria's *Zurbarán* is in this respect virtually complete.

The author of such a monograph as this is not required to deal with minutely controversial matter—for this the investigator has recourse to the bibliography—but he must appropriate and use to advantage the whole critical legacy of his predecessors; and he must also have examined all things of which he speaks. Dr. Soria doubtless deplores the fact that it has been practically impossible and certainly inexpedient to inspect the paintings lodged east of the Rhine; but in compensation he has extended his research to Latin America as no earlier authority had done. If his quest was less rewarding than he may have hoped, knowing how much the painting of the Spanish colonies was inspired by Zurbarán, the reason is that the master did not export the best productions of his hand or even of his workshop. There is satisfaction in reporting the truth, disappointing though it may be.

Dr. Soria has generously responded to the plea for a complete, well-ordered catalogue of Zurbarán's paintings. He gives us 224 entries and indeed somewhat more; for numbers 17a, 64a, and 85a, evidently so designated by reason of some emergency occurring late in the manufacture of the book, increase the count; and numbers 144 (the *Apostles of Lima*), 145 (those of Guatemala), 162 (various single figures at Guadalupe), 163 (numerous figures now widely dispersed), and 171 (*Founders of Monastic Orders at Lima*) are but representatives of several series which are composed of many members generally uniform in size but unequal in merit. No earlier catalogue was so comprehensive. But since, by the author's acknowledgment, works included in the lists of Cascales, Vollmer, and Pompey are absent from his own, should he not have appended a list of lost works and wrong attributions, thus to account for the discrepancy?

The catalogue is arranged in chronological order, and a full entry includes not only the title, dimensions, signature if it exists, and the date known or presumed, but also an account of the provenience and vicissitudes of works removed from the original site and of loan exhibitions in which some have appeared, literary allusions, elucidation of the rarer themes, some description, detailed notes on color, comments on the state of preservation and repair, occasional remarks on existing copies and replicas, reference to analogous paintings, and indication of the existence of such color plates as do not accompany his own monograph but are available

in other books. Thus the researcher receives in a neat package all that Dr. Soria has been able to glean of any specific work.

But despite our gratitude for all this well-ordered information, we must nevertheless regret a few flaws. The most obvious is the confusion of the titles of Figures VII and VIII, occurring in both the captions and the list which appears on the last page of the book. This is an error of inadvertency; but in view of the considerable expenditure, pecuniary, mechanical, and intellectual, lavished upon this *Zurbarán*, I think it a flaw that should have been detected and repaired.

Even the excellent catalogue reveals a few minor defects. Thus we may wonder how Number 57, *Saint Margaret*, formerly in Madrid but unrecorded after 1794, can nevertheless be reproduced as Figure 32. No photograph of the original being possible, we deduce that the source of the halftone is actually one of the copies and that the caption should read "Cf. Cat. No. 57." As the result of another lapse, Number 210, *The Annunciation*, of Philadelphia, is illustrated not by Plate 99, as the catalogue reads, but by 97; Number 219, *St. Luke before the Crucified*, of Madrid, not by Plate 98, but by 99; Number 220, "*Et ponit vestimenta sua*," of Jadraque, not by Plate 97, but by 98. If the title of the last of these paintings seems more like the text of a sermon than the subject of a painting, the circumstance is not unfitting, for the rare theme was doubtless derived from a mystic's homily on the *Humility of our Lord*. The words of the Gospel of St. John 13:4, must then have been the text elaborated by the preacher. Hence the new interpretation of the painting offered by Dr. Soria appears entirely reasonable. The novice must, however, not be misled into believing that Zurbarán here gave us a bizarre treatment of *The Washing of the Disciples' Feet*, for, in that often painted scene, Jesus, having put off only the *himatia*, remains otherwise clad.

In painting *The Circumcision* now at Grenoble (Number 140), Zurbarán was evidently rather scrupulous in adhering to the current tradition of the costume of the High Priest, who, according to the misconception common among Christians, officiated at the rite. Hence Dr. Soria's description of the headdress as a "helmet" is hardly apt; I suggest that "mizrephet" or "tiara" or even "mitre"—the last word inexact but used in the English version of the Scriptures—would have been a more proper word. Likewise I note, with less stricture than curiosity, that the rug seen in *The Mass of Padre Cabañuelas*, Number 157, Plate 80, is defined as Persian. Considering that in the sixteenth century the Spanish weavers, inspired by Turkish importations, had become proficient makers of carpets, developing a characteristic knot and designing their own patterns, ought we not to suspect that the rugs seen in Plates 10, 46, and 80 and in Figure 92 were all products of the local factories?

Till now I have spoken mainly of the Catalogue, though in the actual arrangement of the book it follows like a pack train, laden with the useful but weighty material, at the rear of the magnificent procession of the plates. The special virtue of the plan is

that it allows the forerunning essay to precede unencumbered; and this essay, I think, should be a graceful and well-spoken harbinger, among whose functions is to present a brief biographical sketch of the subject. I fancy that novices and other readers needing refreshment of memory may be inconvenienced by the fact that Dr. Soria's courier does not perform this service. Admittedly, few events in the life of Zurbarán except his changes of residence had much influence upon his career. Unlike Velasquez, he made no trip to Italy; and, again unlike Velasquez, who was the son-in-law of one painter and the father-in-law of another, Zurbarán, though he wedded thrice and fathered daughters, had no known relative by marriage who practiced his own profession. The very painter who trained him made his only mark in the world in January 1614 when he accepted the fifteen-year-old Zurbarán as his apprentice. Thus the story of the painter's life might have been briefly told, and the reader could have followed the discussion of the various paintings knowing where and when and for whom they were made. Without a biographical sketch, he must either first study the appended table of documents or frequently interrupt his reading to refer to it. There is, of course, no objection to the table or the location of it.

Dr. Soria elected not to begin with the actual birth of Zurbarán in Fuente de Cantos but with his renaissance in Paris in the age of the Romanticists. These men, being as imaginative, egocentric, and subjective as Zurbarán was not, were unfortunately little fitted to introduce him to the modern world beyond the Pyrenees. The fact is worth noting; but the quotations from Gautier, which are easily comprehended and of no great import, need not have been translated into English verse. The rendering is in any case not happy: "remorses" is bad English; "corpses"—ugly in sound and connotation—is bad poetry; and the two together do not even make a good rhyme.

The author is clearly aware that, in the interest of the publishers of such a monograph as *Zurbarán*, he must address readers of various capacities and cultural levels—experts, undergraduates, practicing painters, even amateurs who casually visit museums. He has therefore the obligation, so well defined by an art historian writing a century ago, "to keep the mind unperplexed and the attention unfatigued amid a great diversity of objects, scenes, stories, and characters." When books were sparsely illustrated, this duty could be discharged with relative ease; perhaps for this reason some of the most readable, instructive, and stimulating essays on artistic production are those which lack illustration. Not by any conjury can an author keep one of the reader's eyes on his words and the other on the pictures. But, when the mind must constantly be diverted from text to illustration, the writer must contrive to make the transit as direct and comfortable as possible. The progress of Dr. Soria's discussion is unhappily interrupted by italic numerals set in parentheses which lead to corresponding numbers in the monumental catalogue, which then redirect the reader to the apposite figure or plate. And if reference to one of the scattered, unnumbered color plates is de-

sired, recourse must be had to a separate list which tells where the plate has been inserted. It is particularly unfortunate that the impediment is encountered on the road to the best of Zurbarán's own works, while in contrast the approach to the products of his predecessors, "Frutet," Pacheco, Roelas, and Montañés, is easy. These are illustrated by Figures I to VIII. The very multiplicity of the numbers and of their styles hinders the fixing of them in mind, so that, even after considerable experience with the order of plates and figures, the reader cannot trust his memory to guide him aright but must always pursue the circuitous route. The considerable inconvenience of following the references, which may be as many as fifteen or twenty on a single page, could have been minimized by the simple expedient of citing the appropriate illustration directly.

Quite as easily the language might have been purged of occasional solecisms, such as "output were" (p. 18), and the various instances of unidiomatic prepositions: "the name given . . . for [to?] the author," "pre-disposed for [to?] such a role," "another sign for [of?] the Mannerist trend," "Gift by [of?] Chester Dale." Sometimes similes lose their effect through failure to select *le mot juste*; thus the whites of monastic habits are called "heavy as cream" (and why should the Capuchins figure among the white clad?); and a landscape in blues and grays is described as "almost moon-like in its loneliness and roughness." Whether the lunar landscape of fantasy or scientific inquiry is meant is not clear; but, since in either case, the topography of the moon is still beyond human experience and can hardly bear vegetation, surely a better comparison could have been made. Such phraseology as "the metallic amplitude of form" can be explained only as the result of a sort of double exposure of ideas.

The introductory essay, though laboring under these difficulties, is both brief and substantial. It includes I. *The Sources of Zurbarán's Art*, considered in such detail that in the end the author feels bound to erase the unintentional impression that Zurbarán was eclectic by the affirmation, "He was truly great because he was at the same time a *retardataire* and a pioneer, one reaching into the past and into the future." Thence it proceeds to II. *The Styles of Zurbarán*, which describes the evolution of the artist from immaturity to decline; III. *The Themes*, designed to characterize the artist's temper; IV. *The Pupils and Followers*, illustrated by Figures x-xiii, but, in fact, scarcely more than a list; V. *Zurbarán and Baroque Painting: a Summary*, which, among many sound ideas, contains one that seems contradictory to the author's own judgment; "Of all Spanish artists, Zurbarán may have come closest to Caravaggio . . . spiritually." Dr. Soria would have done well to define the word "spiritually" to confute the rejoinder of some critics who, with more or less reason, reserve the distinction for Ribera.

The chapter devoted to *The Styles* is the longest and pithiest. Heré, in his study of Zurbarán's architectural settings, Dr. Soria defends the painter against the old but rather fatuous charge of negligence in the treatment of perspective. Speaking of Plate 22, he says,

"The orthogonals of the floor and of both sides converge at three different vanishing points. The music-making angels seem nearer the foreground than the Virgin, but the clouds indicate that they are in one and the same plane. This moving forward and backward in space by planes shifting in depth, rather than due to any ineptness, seems to be a conscious device to engage the spectator . . . and explains his prominence today as a precursor of contemporary masters." It is easy, I fancy, to grant Zurbarán the license to ignore the laws of perspective, but not so easy to assume that he precociously compressed depth in the belief that "shallow space encourages the experience of strong emotional plane relationships."

The study of compositions which Zurbarán derived from other artists receives Dr. Soria's meticulous attention, and the argument that the painter borrowed freely is generally well sustained; but not every analogy is convincing. Thus, though the resemblance of Plate 10 to Figure 17 is demonstrable, the relationship of Plate 46 and Figure 44 is, I think, not so evident, for surely there are many differences other than that allegedly due to the supplanting of an emperor by a stout column.

Even more debatable in my opinion is the assumption made by Dr. Soria and earlier by Kehrer that Ribera's etching of *St. Peter Penitent* influenced the two paintings illustrated by Figures 56 and 57. In view of the probable availability of the print and circumstances that would have made it so likely a source, I am rather surprised by Zurbarán's independence of it. Luigi Tansillo's poem *Le lacrime di S. Pietro*, the Spanish translations of it by Montalvo (1587), Juan Sedeño, and Damián Álvarez, and particularly the paraphrase by the Sevillian Fernández de Ribera (1609) account for the great vogue of the theme, which surely was treated by many artists, of whom Jusepe de Ribera and Zurbarán were but the most celebrated. The clasped hands are so appropriate to the subject and the physiognomy of St. Peter so fixed by tradition that the resemblance of print and painting in these respects may be circumstantial. Other details—the distinct postures, the unlike arrangement of the garments, the dissimilarity of the accessories and the landscape—suggest that, if Zurbarán knew and recollected the etching, he acknowledged no considerable debt to it.

Zurbarán's series of ten *Exploits of Hercules*, a theme decidedly not *sui generis* but congenial to the taste of Ribera, is usually adduced by those who would demonstrate the affinity or contrast the tempers of the Estremenian and the Valencian. Dr. Soria suggests comparison with the *Ixion* and *Tityus*, the two survivors of Ribera's *Four Damned Men*. Agony like theirs Ribera may have seen men endure in torture chambers; but, by a real stroke of genius, he transformed them into the eternally tormented souls of Hell. It was Homer's Hell, to be sure, but it might as well have been Dante's; there are implications not to be missed by erring Christians. No such moral is contained in the story of Hercules, for the fate of the strong man was to suffer and die as a mortal, to be translated to

Olympus as a minor god, and eventually to be incarnate as the swaggering person of Greek comedy. With Zurbarán Hercules is a boastful athlete with a splendid physique and a notable gift for showmanship. Neither his baseness nor his heroism is overdrawn.

The series had been slighted by earlier writers on Zurbarán till documents dispelled doubt of his authorship; hence it is good to find Dr. Soria amending the old deficiency. A bit more might have been said for the benefit of those who recall that the Labors of Hercules were strictly twelve in number—twelve because there was a remote connection with the zodiacal beasts and Hercules was a solar deity—lest the set be thought incomplete. The Spanish series does not, in truth, correspond exactly to the Labors of the epicists. Common to both are the victories over the Nemean Lion, the Hydra of Lerna, the Boar of Erymanthus, the Cretan Bull, and the Dog Cerberus, also the feats of cleansing the cattle stalls of Augeas and splitting Calpe and Abydos, the last a mere incident to the quest of the herd of Geryon. Not depicted by Zurbarán were the episodes of the Hind of Cerynea, the Birds of Stymphalus, the rape of Hippolyta's girdle, and the theft of the apples of the Hesperides. Omitted also was the capture of the Mares of Diomedes, King of Thrace, whom Hercules slew in the process, unless the painting, mistakenly described in the Prado Catalogue as *Hércules venciendo a los Geriones* actually represents this exploit. Dr. Soria, noting the error, proposes the title *Hercules Killing King Eryx*. Possible objections to the new title on the premise that Hercules should not have clubbed a competitor vanquished in a contest of the caestus and that the boxer had only a dubious claim to a crown are very slight indeed. I should admit no argument on the ground that this incident, recalled by Vergil (*Aeneid*, v, 402), is not found in the Greek epics and certainly is not one of the twelve labors enjoined by Eurystheus; for Zurbarán completed his set of ten with two themes equally extraneous. The *Victory over the Wrestler Antaeus* has its source in the *Bibliotheca of Apollodorus*; and the *Agony of Hercules* in the shirt of Nessus is incongruous since it is not at all a hero's feat but the story of the one contest that he lost. How his tragic wife Deianira unwittingly poisoned his robe with the blood of the centaur, slain long since, is one of the two episodes of the Hercules saga that appealed to the Greek tragedians. It is the subject of Sophocles' *Trachiniae* and, perhaps more important in this instance, of the *Hercules Octaeus* of Seneca, a favorite author of the Spaniards since he was born in Cordova and therefore counted as one of themselves. In the painting (Plate 58) we see the vengeful Nessus, or rather the wraith of him, prancing in the distance; but Zurbarán was curiously unconcerned with the victory over the centaur.

There is, however, a painting of this theme by Ribera. That authors fail to mention this picture, far more germane to Zurbarán's series than *Ixion* and his fellows, is explained by the fact that Ribera's work, now in Pelesch, Romania, is generally ignored. Actually it has been reproduced in the Catalogue of Bachelin (1898) and described with seeming accuracy ex-

cept that the female figure, who must be Deianira, is mistaken for Aphrodite. A colossal picture (245/286 cm) much bigger than those of Zurbarán (about 136/167 cm), it has no known companion-piece. The composition suggests derivation from some classical relief, lost or unidentified. To fix a date on the evidence of the reproduction made almost sixty years ago would be venturesome indeed; nevertheless, I believe that no one would put it so late as the Zurbarán series (1634). The provenience too is unknown; but the certainty that it belonged to King Louis-Philippe's gallery predicates surreptitious removal from Spain, and the evidence that it was cut out of its frame, as were many of the canvases salvaged from the fire in the Alcázar, is at least suggestive. If the King of Spain once owned Ribera's *Victory over the Centaur* and from it got the idea of possessing a vast Hercules cycle, why did he not bestow the commission upon its author? The answer may be that Ribera was at the time engaged upon the great *Inmaculada* of Salamanca and concerned with giving the lie to the current opinion that he specialized in pagan themes and excruciating ordeals. Also he had refused an invitation to the court, and Zurbarán had come and made his services available. Neither before nor since did the Estremenian deal with the feats of a Greek god, but in this single instance he did well; and whether the Valencian, knowing the relics of Rome and Grecian Naples, might have done still better is an idle question.

Of the great Spanish masters it does not matter how we rank them—whether below Velasquez, on a par with El Greco, higher or lower than Ribera—so long as we distinguish their remarkable personalities. The witness to Zurbarán's genius, enlightened by Dr. Soria and also thinking independently, will inevitably compare and contrast the several individuals. I remark upon a curious thing that all the native-born contemporaries had in common: nature impartially granted to each one almost the same terms of his lease of life—to Ribera and Velasquez sixty-one years, to Zurbarán and Cano sixty-six, to Murillo of the later generation a little more than sixty-four and to Ribalta of the earlier probably a little less. El Greco, older and alien, lived somewhat longer; but, as a Spanish artist, he had a nearly equal tenure. Not for any of them the wonderfully long lives of Titian and Michelangelo nor the short, swift course of Raphael and Giorgione! The Spanish painters were of several racial strains, including Greek, Portuguese, Basque, and Catalan as well as Valencian, Estremenian, Andalusian, and Castilian. But they had, nearly all, to be transplanted from the several places of origin to a new environment ere they produced their finest fruits. They were at their best in reaction against the prevalent. All hardy wayfarers on what Pacheco called the "camino del natural," they progressed in maturity far from the boundaries of the masters who had trained them. Again how unlike the great Italians, who, fulfilling the promises of their expansive schools, had masters and pupils only less distinguished than themselves.

Each Spaniard arrived at his own eminence largely independent of the rest, though seemingly aware of the

collective achievement. Each had his own sphere of activity, special but not strictly confining; Ribera's world was of the heroic past, Velasquez's of the court, Zurbarán's of the cloister, which in his day was both splendid and severe.

Zurbarán was the only one who spent a considerable part of his life in a place that was neither court of King or Viceroy nor a great see. The years of his ripening were passed in Llerena, a provincial town in rural surroundings, and there he developed his special taste. It was a taste equally distinct from that of the palace and that of the soil. It cannot be defined as bourgeois taste, for the word smacks of northern culture and sometimes of the coarse, mediocre flavor of things artificially matured. Nevertheless, we are often reminded that Zurbarán came of age a thriving burgher among other townsmen enjoying new refinement and prosperity. A craftsman at heart, he was always to cherish the products of the creative hands of men and women: architectural design, painting, carving, *orfèvrerie*, armor, embroidery, lace, the woven textile, rug, and basket, pottery, even the perishable arrangement of fruit or flowers. His taste for these things, never voluptuous, was yet so compelling that he could not sacrifice them to the aspirations of the Grand Style; nor could he subject his love of bright color to the fashionable restriction of the palette. By these traits he is proved the ideal heir of the Primitives of his race.

He was also sensitive to the beauty of grave good women, individualizing them more than his contemporaries. He did not scorn as trivial their characteristic pleasure in "dressing up" in costumes such as their great-grandmothers might have worn, providing always that they modeled their finery with propriety. In all persons, prince or menial, knight or monk, child or man, he admired sobriety and decorum. For his own part, he had an innate delicacy that prohibited presentation of the atrocious and the extravagantly emotional. Occasionally he offends by his sentimentality, which is, I think, a middle-class fault; but he had also the middle-class virtue of reserve and good manners. He delighted to honor the Church, her dignitaries, learned and sainted, the ordered life of her cloisters, her ceremonial pomp.

Assuming that this love of beauty—of thing, of person, and of rite—best reveals the temper of the man, we may be surprised to find that the most profoundly moving of his subjects is the solitary cowed monk at his silent devotions. Here perhaps is disclosed the secret of this most objective of artists. And so the bravo of the discredited romancers has become the mystic painter of serious modern critics. If they treat of the broad mysticism of the pantheists, they are surely justified, for such mysticism in some degree is implicit in the artistic temperament. But essential to Christian mysticism, especially in its Spanish aspect, is rigorous ascetic discipline; and, for my part, I cannot be sure that Zurbarán, however sympathetic, devout, and pious, himself experienced the trance or was inclined to austerity, that his fruits and blossoms were a thank offering, his jewels and ermine a reminder that the "gloria

mundi" vanishes. So much of it he has kept fresh and vivid still! It may be imaginative to describe Zurbarán as visionary or philosopher; it is enough—and very much indeed—to honor him as an artist who revered the good, the honest, and the beautiful.

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GEORGE HEARD HAMILTON, *Manet and his Critics*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1954. Pp. 295; 39 ills. \$5.00.

"If Manet's genius could be reduced to a formula," writes Professor Hamilton, "it might be stated as his gift for extracting from the undifferentiated visual whole of everyday life just those aspects which we see and feel are qualitatively 'modern' rather than chronologically 'contemporary.' In these terms the solemn and disdainful figures in his canvases are representations of modern man whose sensibility has set him apart from the restricted emotional responses of that mob which comes only to jeer at such art."

In this book, the jeers of the insensitive are pitted against the observations of a small but growing number of critics who have discovered for themselves how penetrating and how exquisite Edouard Manet's sensibility was. The occasion of this struggle was the series of paintings which he submitted, year after year, to the official Salon, or, to put it more accurately, those of the paintings he submitted which a hostile jury allowed to be exhibited at all. The case of Manet is not the first instance of that rupture between artist and public which we take almost for granted today; but it was the most sustained, the most cruel, and I think the most ironic—in consideration of Manet's peculiar modernity. Therefore, although this book appears to be only peripheral to the study of Manet himself, it tells a story of artist and society which has compelling overtones for our own time. It is easy enough, and not particularly valuable, to double-guess the critics of Manet's day with the wisdom of current hindsight, and Hamilton exercises commendable restraint in this regard. To put these controversies on a modern stage with a new cast of characters would imply an entirely different book; yet in his introduction the author hopes that "this particular inquiry may point toward the resolution of the general dilemma."

A book of this sort, with perhaps a third of its text devoted to translations of critics' writings, can hardly hope to avoid a certain monotony. This is especially true of the cullings from Manet's numerous detractors. If a critic does not look at a painting with the intention of coming to grips with it on its own terms, he will have not much of value to say about it. The variations of noncriticism are notoriously limited, as limited, one might say, as the variations of False Art. Even at this price, however, it is worth knowing exactly how truth was able to put to flight prejudice and vested institutional interest. The result is a valuable case study in the history of criticism.

Interestingly enough, the most penetrating of Manet's critics were poets and novelists distinguished in their own right—Baudelaire first and best of all, Mallarmé most subtly, Zola most programmatically. But since artists have their work to do, and since the nineteenth (and twentieth) century, by virtue of "little artistic experience or sense of the responsibility of patronage," made the critic a necessity, the artist-critic could not fill the need. Fortunately, among the professional critics there were sensitive spirits, notably Duret and Théodore de Banville, who recognized at one time or another the promise of Manet's work.

On the whole, Hamilton is content to chronicle, in an admirably clear style, the unfolding of a story. He has introduced, however, many passages of fresh and observant criticism of Manet's paintings, and these serve to carry the reader across some of the duller criticism by others. All thirty-eight paintings which

Manet submitted to the Salon are reproduced at the back of the book. Nearly one half of them are now in public or private collections in the United States.

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ERRATUM: In THE ART BULLETIN for March 1955, on page 74, col. 1, read: "The date of Lessing's *Wie die Alten den Tod gebildet* (p. 272) is 1769, not 1765." The reviewer also informs us that his attention has been called to the fact that Adhémar's *David: naissance du génie d'un peintre*, although it bears the date 1953, was apparently not generally available until late 1954, that is, after Zeidler's *Klassizismus und Utopia* (1954) had gone to press, and that this explains its failure to appear in the scholarly apparatus of that work.

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